PUBLICATIONS DU CONSEIL SUPÉRIEUR DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE



TOME LXXIII
1998



LE CAIRE
IMPRIMERIE DU C.S.A.
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Directeur : Amal S. EL-Alfy

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Preface

When the *Annales* came into being in the first year of this century, it was intended that it should be issued (as its name shows) every year. Indeed this was the case for nearly sixty years. But for various reasons, the annual publication of the *Annales* was disrupted, and thus the present issue is numbered LXXIII instead of XCVIII. In fact there is time a gap of no less then five years between the last issue (LXXII) and the present one. This is an unfortunate state of affairs for which no particular person can be blamed.

We hope that the fortunes of the *Annales* are going to change. Not only that we intend to issue it annually, but we also plan to have more than one issue a year. In such case the *Annales* will make up for the lost time, and in a few years it can be regular once more, and be true to its name.

The way to achieve this goal is simple, but will not be attained without the active collaboration of all our colleagues, Egypatians and non-Egyptians. All of them are invited to send in their papers with the assurance that they will be published promptly and more regularly than before. We particularly ask our colleagues who conduct excavations in Egypt to submit their preliminary reports (text, plates, drawings, etc.) ready for the print. A copy of the conditions regulating this matter will be attached with their contracts.

Throughout these years, the papers, reports and articles that were published in the *Annales*, were written in English, French or German; none in Arabic! This did not encourage the young Egyptian excavators and inspectors who conducted diggings all over the country to come forward with their reports to be published. The results of their work were left on shelves to collect dust, rather than being known to all concerned. What loss!

The *Annales* is determined to address this matter in a practical manner. The young Egyptians are invited to submit their reports in Arabic and they will be published as such, albeit with a brief summary in English or French. This will be for their own good, but most importantly, for the good of Egyptology.

Should we succeed in this endeavor and achieve these modest, but important goals, the *Annales* will undoubtedly prosper and flourish once more.

Prof. Dr . G.A Gaballa
Secretary General
Supreme Council of Antiquities

DIE ELF SCHREITSTATUEN IN LUXOR TEMPEL (I)

Mahmud ABDEL RAZIQ

Vorwort

Während meiner Tatigkeit als Grabungsinspektor von Luxor im Jahr 1966, in deren Verlauf der einen Teil unter der Altstadt verborgenen Sphinzallee freilegte, hatte (Mahmoud abd El Raziq) Gelegenheit, Studien in dem bisher insgesamt publizierten, 1974 Konnte ich die Von Ramses II. angelegten 1, Hof des Luxertemples anzustellen, Texte der wie- und Bauinschriften und 1975 Übersetzung und kommten dazu im JEA erscheinen lassen[1]. Eine umfanglichere kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchung über die in dem Tempelekomplex gefunden, bzw. *in situ* befindlichen Statuen, blieb dagegen wegen anderer Veroflichtung im konzept liegen .

Letzt haben wir uns entschlossen in Zusammenarbet zunächst einmal das eindrucksvolle Ensemble der im 1. Hof aufgestellten zeit Schreitstatuen zu beschreiben, und zwar mit dem ziel, die gelegentlich aufgeworfene Frage nach deren Originalital oder Usurption zu klaren und anschlieddend daran in einem kursorischen Ausblick zu einer Hypothese über die Funktion dieser Denkmäler innerhalb des Raumkontexes zu Verlangen.

Zu diesem zweck haben wir uns bei der Behandlung der Statuen auf einen immanenten Vergleich Stilistischer details der technischen Ausführung beschrankt, dessen Ergebnisse wir im Oktober 1976 vor Ort zu überprüfen und zu verrollstandigen Gelegenheit hatten.

Die Inschriften auf den Sockeln, Ruckenpfreilern etc. haben wir dagegen insoweit herangezogen, wie sie geeignet sind, ergaganzende Aufschlüsse zu geben[2] im übrigen aber kommen tarlos in Abschrift und Übersetzungen dieser Studie als Anfang beigefügt. Hinsichtlich der für eine Deutung erfoderlichen Inschriften des Raumkontextes beziehe ich mich auf wir uns auf die beiden genannten Editionen.

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(1) *JEA* 60,1974 :S.172-160 und *JEA* 61,1975, S.125-136

(2) Diese Inschriften werden z . Zt von Frack J . Yurco aus Chicago / USA bearbeitet

EINLEITUNG

I- ZUR FRAGE EINER MÖGLICHEN USERPATION DES STATUENSEMBLES

Es erscheint angemessen, daß Ramses II., der sich als erbauer derzahlreichsten und gewaltigsten aus dem Alten Ägypten erhaltenden Monumente in Erinnerung bewahrt hat, bestrebt war, auch in der Rundplastik an Zahl und Grösse jeden seiner Vorgänger, selbst Amenophis III., zu übertreffen. So hat er vermocht, auch in Luxor den ersten Eindruck auf sich zu lenken, in dem er vor den tempel einen großen Pylon mit anschliessendem Hof bauen, die Durchgänge mit kolossalen Königsbildnissen in sitzender Haltung flankieren und nicht minder kolossale schreitende Königsstatuen vor dem Pylon sowie auf der innenseite des Hofes errichten ließ.[3] Statuen, bzw. Statuenfragmente mit dem Namenszug Amenophis III., des ursprünlichen Erbauers dieses Tempels, haben sich dagegen seltsamerweise in dem gesamten Komplex nicht gefunden. Dieser Sachverhalt konnte nicht unbemerkt bleiben; spoadisch tachte deshalb in der ägyptologischen Literatur die Frage auf, ob rie genannten Skulpturen unter Ramses II. nicht nur aufgestellt, sondern auch geschaffen wurden. Aus andern Zusammenhangen ist nämlich erwiesen, daß dieser Herrscher, wenn auch nich als erster, so doch in genereller Weise [4] Bau - und Bildwerke bedenkenlos usurpierte, Eulogen und Titulaturen seiner Person versehen liess, teils durch Beschriftung unvollendeter Werke seiner Vorganger, teils durch Beischriften, teils durch Tilgung

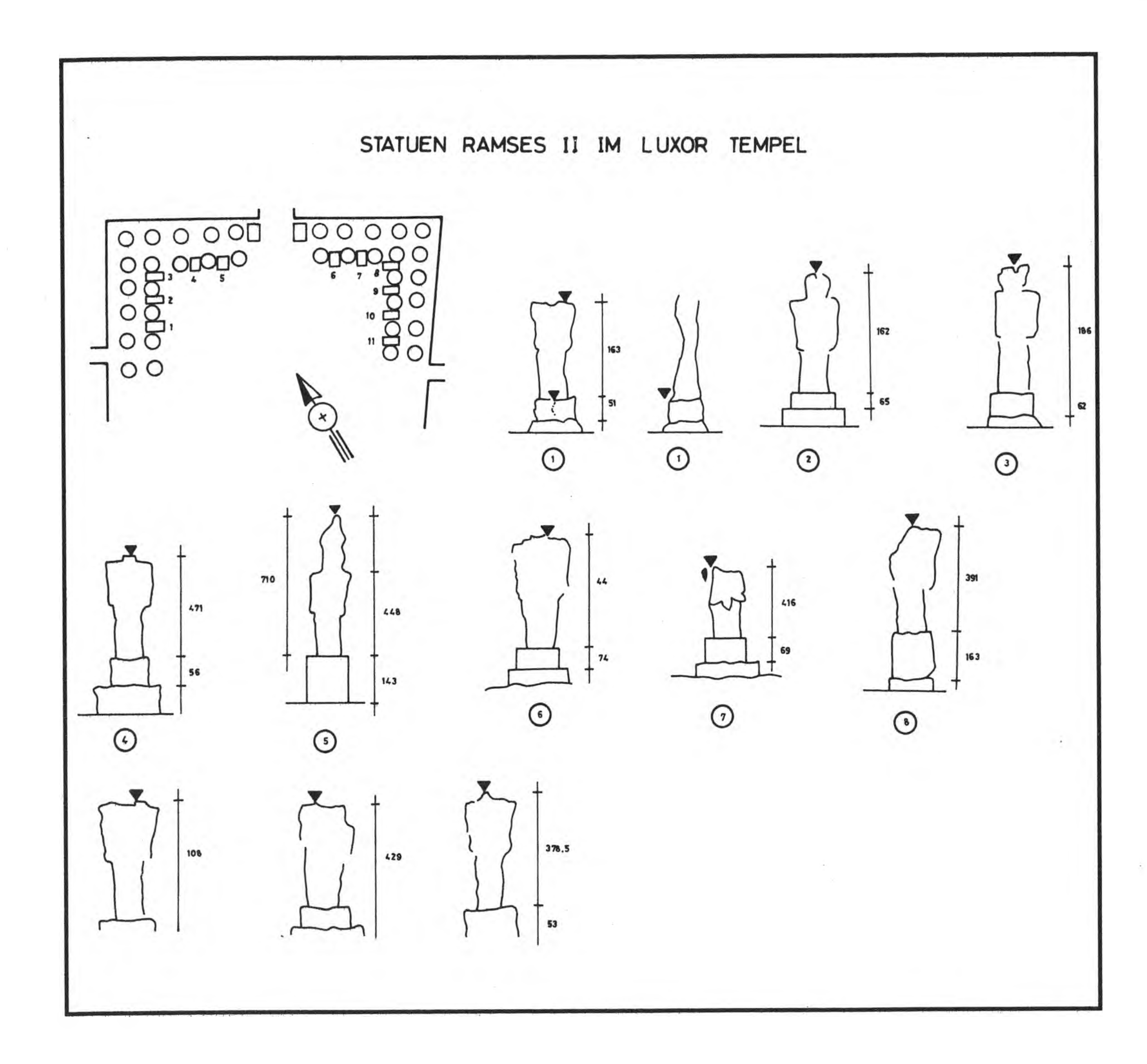
(3) Von den Statuen außerhalb des östlichen und westlichen Tores der Außenmauer des 1. Hofes, die sich z.T. nicht mehr *in situ* befinden und die Namenzüge Merenptahs tragen, wird in diesem Zusammenhang ganz abgesehen. Sie müßten in einer ergänzenden Studie behandelt werden.

(4) Voran ging ihm in dieser Praxis vor allem Thutmosis III, allerdings aus anderen Motiven. Er usurpierte nur Monumente seiner Rivalin Hatschepsut, Ramses II dagegen was besonders an Bildwerken, die in Tanis Zutagekamen deutlich wurde, wahllos aus allen Zeiten, offenbar, um sich an der Pharao Ägyptens zu pränsentieren .

alterer Namen und Texte[5]. in der Tat kann man auch an den zu besprechenden Figuren Spuren erkennen, die diesen verdacht bestarken[6].

(5) Als einige Beispiele für Bauwerke seien genannt : Die Architrave und Säulen des Triadenachreins im 1. Hof des Luxortempels, die große Säulenhalle in Karnak, deren Mittelkolonnade zumindest von Amenophis III. stammt. Außerdem hat er eine Vielzahl der noch erhaltenen Obelisken mit seinen Titulaturen und Legenden umrahmt. - Imbezug auf Skulpturen sei nur an die nach Tanis verschleppten Bildwerke des Mittleren Reiches erinnert, vgl. P. Montet. Ferner an eine jetzt im Museum von Luxor befindliche Statuengruppe Amenophis III. mit Sobek, gefunden in Semenu von Mahmud Abd el- Raziq, vgl. *MDAIK 27*, 1968. Dieser Praxis ist auch Merenptahs gefolgt: So konnte Cyril Aldred in seinem Aufsatz: "Amenophis redivivus", in : *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 14, Nr. 5 (Januar 1965), S. 114-121, mit überzeugenden Argumenten zwei aus Luxor stammende, jetzt im Metropolitan Museum zu New York befindliche Sitzbilder mit Inschriften Merenptahs Amenophis III. zuweisen. Züge der Bildkunst Amenophis III. trägt auch die jetzt vor der Fassade des Museums von Luxor aufgestellte Statue vom Osttor des Ramseshofes in Luxor, die auf der Gürtelschließe die Kartusche Merenptahs trägt. Vgl. auch A. Mekhitarian, Statues d'Aménophis III, *CdE* 31, 1956 : 297f. mit Abb. 28. Als ein anderes Beispiel sei noch eine von Merenptah usurpierte Kolossalfigur Amenemhets im Kaironer Museum erwähnt.

(6) Vgl. Mekhitarian, *o.c.*, S. 297: Palimpsest auf dem Rückenpfeiler der 1. Statue des Ramseshofes. Spuren getilgter Texte sind auch an der 1., der 10. und der 11. Statue erkennbar.



Abbild.1.

II. - ZUR RAUMLICHEN SITUATION

Eine kurze Ubersicht über den Konstruktionsplan des Hofes (Taf.1) soll dazu dienen, den Standort der Skulpturen zu verdeutllichen.

Durch den Pylon gelangt man auf der Längsachse von Norden nach Suden zum Tor der Opetfestkolonnade und von dort in das innere des Tempels.

Eine zweite Achse hingegen durchmisenden Hof in Ost-West-Richtung, zu der je ein Tor in der Mauer des umlaufenden Portikus Durchlass gewährt.

Betont wird diese Querachse einerseits durch den weitern Saulenabstand zu ihren Seiten, vor allem aber durch eben jene Sohreitstatuen, die auf der sudLEchen Hälfte des Hofes die Zwischenraume der vorderen Saulenreihe des Portikus fullen und somit dieser Hälfte ein besonderes Gepräge verleihen (Bild. 2).

Je zwei Statuen dieser Art befinden sich auf der sudseite, auf der westseite vier, auf der Ostseite aber nur drei. Diese inkongruenz hat ihre Ursache allem Anschein nach in der nach Osten verlagerten Langsachse, die dem Hof einen nahezu rhombischen.

Grundriß verleiht. Da die Ost- West- Achse sich offenbar horizontal in dieser längsachse verhalten sollte, müßte sie um eine Säulenbreite nach Nordwesten verschoben werden. Aufschlussreiche Polgerungen für die Deutung der Funktion des Hofes und der Statuen lassen sich jedoch, mangels konkreter Hinweise oder auch nur plausibler Vermutungen, aus diesem Sachverhalt nicht ziehen.[7]

(7) Dem Augenschein nach wurde die Längsache auf die Sphinxallee ausgerichtet; da diese Allee jedoch von Spingen Nektanebos 1. gesäumt wird, muβ daran gezweifelt werden, ob es sie bereits zur Zeit Ramses II. gab. Die Ost-West-Achse jedenfalls verhält sich nahezu exakt rechtwinklir zu der durch das Tor Pylons gelegten Achse, nicht aber zur Kolonnadenachse. Vgl hierzu auch S. 52 mit Anm. 173.

Wechselseitige Korrelationen der elf Schreitstatuen

Beziehungen:
Merenptah Kartuschen
Königinnen
Herkunft aus Karnak
Statuenresponsion

Abkürzungen:
L = Luxor
K = Karnak
A = Amenophis
R = Ramses
N = Nemes
DK = Doppelkrone
OK = oberäg. Krone
U = Ursprüngliche Statue, ohne Vorbild
C = Mögliche Kopie

Bemerkungen:
A 1 aus Luxor, A 4 aus Luxor } gleich groß DK, OK
A 10 ?, A 11 ? } gleich groß OK, DK
(A 1, A 4, A 10, A 11: für einen von Amenophis III. geplanten Pylon bestimmt ?)
A 7 ?, A Pylon ? } gleich groß DK, DK
R 2 aus Karnak, R 3 aus Luxor } fast gleich groß DK N U ?, DK N C ?
R 5 " ", R 6 " " } gleich groß OK C ?, DK U ?
R 8 " " C ?
R 9 aus Karnak U ?

Abbild.2.

A. ERSTER TEIL

STILISTISCHE UNTERSCHEIDUNGSMERKMALE DER STATUEN UND GRUPPENSPEZIFISCHE TYPOLOGIE

I.-DIFFERENZIERUNG ZWEIER STILRICHTUNGEN

1. Bisherige Hypothesen Zur Usurpation Des Ensembles Und Die Evidenz Zweier Statuengruppen.

Bei einer kursorischen Betrachtung der sämtlich nach *in situ* befindlichen, wenn auch unterschiedlich erhaltenen Skulpturen, läßt sich zwar sofort das Gemeinsame feststellen : Es handelt sich um darstellungen des Pharao mit vorgesetztem linken Bein. Zusammen mit dem Sockel und dem Rückenpfeiler, an dem sie gelehnt stehen, sind sie aus Monolithen gearbeitet, bekleidet mit dem archaischen Königsschurz, einen Dolch im Gürtel, zeremonialbart am Kinn und Siegelstab[8] in den Fäusten (Bild. 3). Zugleich aber bemerkt man, abgesehen von Variationen des Kopfornates, die sich auch bei anderen Ensembles finden[9], die Uneinheitlichkeit ihrer Gestaltung : Sie divergieren nicht nur erheblich in den Maßen, sondern auch in Qualität und dem Grad ihrer Bearbeitung, sogar im Material[10].

(8) Äg. *mk's,* Symbol der Königsherrschaft, Zeichen der Übergabe des Landes an des König als Erben der Götter, vgl. Erman - Grapow, *Wb* II, 193. Möglicherweise hat dieses Szepter auch Bezeug auf das Sed - Fest.

(9) So bei den so, Osirisstatuen, z.B. in Deir el Bahri oder im Tempel Ramses III. auf der Südseite des 1. Hofes von Karnak: auf der einen Seite mit oberägyptischen, auf der anderen Seite mit Doppelkronen.

(10) 10 Statuen bestehen aus sog. Hosengranit, die 9 Statuen dagegen (vgl. Zählung nach dem Grundrißschema Bild. 1) aus graugrümen Granit.

Diese Diskrepanzen sind gewiß des öfteren bemerkt, aber bis zum vergangenen Jahr nie expliziert, zumindest nicht öffentlich ausgesprochen worden [11].

1964 hatte zwar P. Gilbert auf die inégalité der Giganten hingewiesen und gesagt, daß sie "n'est pas logique, s'ils (die Giganten) avaient été destinés à cadrer avec des colonnes égales"[12], kein Wort jedoch zu den notwendigerweise sich daraus ergebenden Fragen nach der Ursache, nach Enstehungeszeit und dem Zweck, zu dem sie aufgerichtet wurden. Denn obwohl alle 11 Bildwerke Inschriften Ramses II. auffweisen, läßt sich unschwer erkennen daß sie nicht das Werk eines Auftrages sind: es hat vielmehr den Anschein, als stammten sie von verschiedenen Pältzen und wurden zu einem Ensemble vereinigt, willkürlich oder bedacht, das bliebe zunächst dahingestellt. Zumindest kann behauptet werden, daß sie nicht zusammen in einer Werkstatt gefertigt wurden, und wenn, dann nicht zu gleicher Zeit .

Diese Evidenz blieb offenbar bis zur Ziet der Untersuchungen von Mahmoud Abd el-Raziq unbemerkt. Danach aber hat sich der Amerikaner F. J Yurco, mit diesem Problem befaßt und eine These auf dem in Kairo abgehaltenen1. Internationalen Ägyptologenkongreßs im Oktober 1976 vorgetragen, die jedoch von unseren gewonnenen Erkenntnissen abweicht[13]. Deshalb haben wir es für nützlich gehalten, des Thema von unserer Sicht her zu bearbeiten und hoffen, damit einen, wenn auch nicht in allen Punkten neuen, so doch ergänzenden oder sogar berichtigenden Beitrag, zu leisten.

(11) In dem Vortrag von Frank J. Yurco, den er auf dem 1. ICE in Kairo gehalten hat, vgl. Anm.13.

(12) So bei P. Gilbert, "La corégence d'Aménophis IV, et l'art thébain durant la période amarnienne", *CdE* 39, 1964, S. 18.

(13) Dieser Vortag lag uns bei Abfassung dieser Studie leider nicht vor; wir beziehen uns daher auf seine in den *Abstracts of Papers des ICE*, München 1976, S. 146 gegebene Zusammenfassung: Danach unterscheidet Yurco wie wir zwei Gruppen, von denen er jedoch die fünf Statuen der einen Gruppe, die, wie sich aus unserer Studie ergibt, Amenophis III. zugeschrieben werden müssen, Haremhab zuodrnen möchte. Vgl. unten S.29 und 30 mit Anm. 62. Ausgangspunkt für seine Theorie bildeten offenbar Schlußfolgerungen, die Charles F. Nims, *Thebes of the Pharaos*, S. 105 aus einer anderen Gruppe stehender Statuen vor der Nordfront des 10. Pylons in Karnak gezogen hat.

Schon 1920 hatte Jean Capart[14] eine Vermutung geäußert, die bewirkte, daß bis jetzt der Blick für das Richtige versoerrt war. Er war nämlich davon überzeugt, Ramses II. habe das gesamte Ensemble von Amenophis III. usurpiert. Zu dieser Schußfolgerung war er aufgrund eines offenbar recht oberflächlichen Vergleiches mit der kolossalen, im Kairo Museum befindlichen Sitzgruppe Amenophis III. und dessen Gemahlin Teje[15] gelangt; denn als Beispiel seines Vergleiches wählte er aus dem Ensemble gerabe die Statue zur Abbildung aus[16], an der sich wie zu zeigen sein wird, typisch ramessidische Merkmale ablesen lassen. Auf diesem Weg sind ihm 1965 A. Mekhitarian[17] und 1964 P. Gilbert[18] gefolgt. Vielleicht ebenfalls von Capart inspieiprt[19] erweitert Gilbert darüber hinaus den Gedanken wonach die Anloge oder die Planung des Hofes noch auf Amenophis III. zurüchgehe, und er meint, dieser Hof Könne das Vorbild für Statuenhöfe Amenophis IV abgegeben haben[20].

Die Faszination der Hypothese Caparts, auf die sich die beiden letztgenannten Autoren ausdrücklich beziehen[21], hatte offenkundig eine kritische Überprüfung und damit die Möglichkeit der Annahme, ein Teil der Statuen könne auch aus der ramessidischen Eroche stammen, vergessen lassen. Bei unbefangenem, allerdings etwas genauren Hinsehen, schließe sich nämlich einige Bildwerke sofort zu unterschiedlichen Gruppen zusammen. Auf Grund gewisser Gestaltungsmerkmale aber lassen sich deutlich zwei Hauptgruppen unterscheiden, von denen die eine 5 und die andere 6 der Skulpturen umfaßt. Während Yurco, der insoweit zu demselben

(14) J. Capart, Thèbes, *La glaire d'un grand passé*, Bruxelles 1925, S. 230, und ders, *Leçons sur l'art égyptien*, Liège 1920, S. 339 (Dieses Werk war uns nicht zugänglich).

(15) Die Sitzgruppe stammt aus Medinet Habu und wurde aus vielen Fragmenten wieder zusammengesetzt. Die restaurierten Partien verfälschen sowohl den Gesamteindruck wie viele stilistische Merkmale; aus den Originalresten sind jedoch einige noch gut erkennbar.

(16) J. Capart, *o.c.*, fig. 150 : 3. Statue auf der Ostseite des Hofes.

(17) A. Mekhitarian, *o.c.*, S. 296.

(18) P. Gilbert, o.c., S. 18.

(19) J. Capart, *Thèbes*, *o.c.* S. 208, Abs. 4 u. S. 230. Der Gedanke ist zwar nicht explizit ausgesprochen.

(20) P. Gilbert, *o.c.*, S. Abs. 3. u. S. 18ff.

(21) A. Mekhtarian, *o.c.*, S. 296, Amn. 2 ; P. Gilbert, *o.c.*, S. 18, Anm. 2.

Ergebnis gelangt ist wie wir, meint, die erste Gruppe Haremhab zuordnen zu können, haben wir uns die Aufgabe gestellt, nachzuweisen, daß mit einer an Sicherheit grenzenden Wahrscheinlichkeit die 2. Gruppe in die Zeit Ramses II., die 1. Gruppe aber in den Werkstätten Amenophis III. entstanden ist. Eine abgeschlossene Untersuchung, die diese These stützt, gibt es bisher nicht[22]; denn es haben sich keine inschriftlichen Zeugnisse gefunden, die als Belege dienen, auch die Gefahr in sich bergen, gelegentlich falsch interpretiert zu werden[23].

Beweiskräfigen Aufschluß vermögen erst stilistische Detailvergleiche zu liefern, die im folgenden an den 11 Statuen untereinander vorgenommen werden. Die unfängliche Studie, die zunächst einmal mit viel Aufwand die Evidenz der Gruppenunterscheidung bestätigt, ist erforderlich, um eine hinreichende Zahl von Kriterien zu gewinnen, die sich an datierten Objekten jederzeit Überprüfen lassen und somit eine Zuordnung erlauben.

Um die Orientierung zu erleichtern, haben wir das Ensemble durchnumeriert, und zwar fortlaufend von der Ostpassage zur Westpassage des Hofes (Abbild. 1).

(22)EineDissertation über Statuen Amenophis III., die sich auch mit stillistischen Unterscheidungsmerkmalen gegenüber Bildwerken des Ramessidenzeit befaβt, wird z. Zt. von Christine Strauβ in München angefertigt. Da sich unsere Darstellung auf die elf Schreitstatuen beschränkt und der Schwerpunkt auf den originärn Merkmalen des Stils der Werkstätten Ramses II. liegt, hoffen wir, nicht allzu viel vorwegzunehmen. Bestätigung für die Richtigkeit unserer Beobachtung wird es sein, wenn auch jene Arbeit zu ähnlichen örgebmissen gelangen sollte. Wieweit sich unsere Beobachtungen hinsichtlich der sechsoriginären Ramsesstatuen mit denen Yurcos decken, können wir nicht beurteilen.

(23) So, wenn inschriftliche Erwähnungen als Dokumente gewertet werden, die in wahrheit topischen Charakter haben oder ihrerseits usurpiert wurden. Eine Interpretation der letzten Art scheint Yurco zu dem Schluβ geführt zu haben, die fünf Statuen der 1. Gruppe Haremhab zuzuweisen. Ein anderes Beispiel solcher Fehlinterpretation liefert Capart, *o.c.* S. 230 aufgrund der flacher als der übrigen Text eingravierten Formel "lebend" (vivante).

2. Vergleich Und Synoptische Beschreibung Der Statuen Nr. 1 Und Nr. 2

a) Generelle Unterschiede

Für den Ausgang unserer Betrachtungen haben wir zwei Statuen ausgewählt, die als Musterexemplare fur Ausftellung eines Vergleichsschemas, das danach anhand von Einzelkriterien zu erganzen ist, besonders geeignet erscheinen.

Beide Königsbildnisse bestenhen aus sogenannten Rosengranit, den man in Assuan brach. Das erste der beiden (Nr. 1: zwischen der ersten und zweiten Säule, südlich den Osttores ; vgl. (Taf. 1 und IV) erhebt sich auf einem Fundament aus Sandsteinblöcken. Seine Höhe betrug ursprünglich .,41m Der Kopf ist jedoch abgebrochen; erhalten ist lediglich, obwohl auch beschädigt die Doppelkrone mit einigen noch erkennbaren Resten des Gesichtsprofils. Dieses Fragment[24] hat man z. Zt. rechts zu den Füssen der Figur aufgestellt.

Das zweite (Nr.3: zwischen der 3. und 4. Säule in der Südostecke; vgl Bild. 1 und Taf. I) ist etwas kleiner und ruht auf einem monolithen Sandsteinfundament. Es hatte einschließlich der getrennt gearbeiteten Doppelkrone, die einst auf dem noch wohlerhaltenen mit dem Names[25] versehenen Kopf befestigt war, eine Höhe von m. Die zu dieser oder der sehr ähnlichen Statue (Nr. 2 : zwischen der 2. und 3. Säule)[26] gehörige Doppelkrone hat man ebenfalls seitlich davor deponiert.

Beide Figuren entsprechen einander, wie bereits angedeutet, in Gestus und Habitus[27], sind also unmittelbar komparabel.

Zwei generelle Unterschiede fallen sofort auf :

1. die Technik der Operflächenbeabeitung
2. die Technik der Konturierung des Körpers

Ad 1.

Statue Nr. 1 war einst auf Hochglanz poliert : Dieser Glanz hat sich trotz der Verwitterung noch soweit erhalten, daß der Eindruck ensteht, sie sei aus einem

(24) Die Restauratoren Barsanti oder Paris.

(25) Äg. Bezeichnung für das Königskopftuch.

(26) Statue Nr. 2 soll zunächst außer Betracht bleiben, da sie augenscheinlich nicht vollendet wurde.

(27) Vgl. oben S. 4.

dunkleren Material geschaffen worden als Nr. 3 (und 2).

Ad 2._

Obwohl auch der Körper von Nr. 1 mit Rückenpfeiler verbunden ist, wirkt er gelöst, straff, freiausschreitend und bewegt.

Bei Nr. 3 (und 2) dagegenwirkt er gebunden, schwer, gleichsam dem Block verhaftet.

Die Gründe, die diese Eindrücke vermitteln, seien zunächst in großen Zügen umrissen :

Sie beschränken sich nicht allein auf unterschiede in der Bearbeitung, den Grad der Politur und der Gliedmaßenkontur, der den Stein erst belebt ; es lassen sich vielmehr typisch voneinander abweichende, stilistische Merkmale erkennen.

Statue Nr. 3 hat ihr blockhaftes Gepräge duch zwei Momente gewonnen : einmal infolge der gegenüber Nr. 1 geringeren Schrittweite der Beine (cm und 22 cm) und des engeren Anliegens der Arme am Körper, vor allem aber durch eine fast kubische Modellierung der Kinzelpartien. Der Oberkörper ist im Verhältnis zur Gesamtgröße länger als bei Nr. 1, der Thorax weniger breit, also voluminöser, die Taille weniger betont.

Die Beine und Arme sind propertinal gesehen kürzer und kompakter. (Bei Nr. 1 erscheinen die Gliedmaßen freier, weil ihre Konturen tiefer in den Hintergrund unterschnitten wurden.

Vor allem aber läßt sich ein lebendiges Spiel der Muskeln beobachten, da deren Konturen modelliert ineinander gleiten, während sie bei Nr. 3 fast ornamental mit Linien gegeneinander abgegrenzt sind. Infolgedessen wirkens auch Arme bei dieser Statue wie angesetzt ; bei jener hingegen fügen sie sich oranisch an Brust und Rücken an. Es wäre jedoch ein Kurzschluss, diese Divergenzen nur einem graduellen Mehr oder Weniger an Meisterschaft der Handwerkskunst zuzuschreiben ; vielmehr scheinen bewußt voneinander abweichende Konzeptionen der Bildnerei zum Ausdruck zu kommen, zwei Schulen, die innerhalb des festgelegten ägyptischen Kanons ihr eigenes oder anbefohlenes Programm gestaltet haben.

Detailuntersuchungen haben nämlich ergeben, daß diese Abweichungen grundsätzlicher Art sind, sich also zueinander nicht wie Original und qualitativ schlechte Kopie verhalten.

b) Synopse von Detailuntersuchungen

Um eine klare übersicht zu vermitteln, wird die Beschreibung in Form einer knappen Synopse vorgenommen.

Statue Nr. 1 (Taf. IV)

1. Die Doppelkrone

Die oberägytische Krone neigt sich im vorderen Profil mit leichter Wölbung nach hinten endete in einem jetzt abgebrochenen wohlrunden Knauf (Taf III; Fig: 1 a u. b) [28] . Das hintere Profil ragt in einer steilen Linie empor. Die unterägyptische Krone öffnet sich kelchartig zu einer scharfen, kundumlaufenden oberen Begrenzungskante Obwohl diese Begrenwungskqnte sich nach hiten zu hinaufzieht, knickt die Linie zu ihrer Fortsetzung in die rückwärtige Spitze mit einem stumpfen Winkel ab. Zwischen der Spitze dieser Krone, die sich unmittelbar an den Rücken pfeiler anlehnt, und der oberägyptischen Krone ist ein mit einem Steg gefüllter

Statue Nr. 3 (Taf. V)

1. Die Doppelkrone

Die zu Statue Nr. 2 oder 3 gehörige Doppelkrone entspricht proportkional zur Größe der beiden Königsplastiken annähernd der Hôhe der Krone von Nr. 1. Sie ist jedoch breiter und wirkt daher gedrungener (Fig 1. c u. d). Die oberägyptische Krone steigt im vorderen Profil fast vertikal an, um sich in ausgeprägter Wölbung stark nach hinten zu neigen. Der ebenfalls abgebrochene obere Knauf hatte einen umlaufenden Grat . Auch die unterägyptische Krone erhebt sich fast vertikal ; nur die nach oben abgeschrägte begrenzungskante springt vor und schwingt sich im Bogen zur rückwärtigen Spitze empor. Zwischen der Spitze und der oberägyptischen Krone ist kein Zwischenraum ausgespart ; eine Vertiefung trennt jedoch optisch die Krone von Rückenpfeiler Dieser Rückenpfeiler schloß

(28) Vgl. hierzu die noch erhaltene oberägyptische Krone an der großen, zur selben Stilgruppe gehörenden Schreitstatue vor dem Pylon Ramses II.

Raum ausgespart. Die Gesamthöhe der Doppelkrone beträgt ca. 160 cm. Reste des Rückenpfeilers an der Krone zeigen, daß er schmaler zulief, als das obere Ende der Kronenspitze. Sein Abschluß muß folglich die Form einer Obeliskenspitze gehabt haben (vgl. Fig. 13)[29].

2. Das Gesicht

Es ist gänzlich zerborsten. Einige Reste der Seitenpartien sind jedoch noch so weit erhalten, um genug Anhaltspunkte seiner Struktur zu liefern : Auf der linken Seite erkennen wir noch das in erhabenem Relief gearbeitete Stirnband (Fig. 2a). Es ist vorn breiter als vor dem Ohr, verbreitert sich dahinter aber wieder zu dem gleichen Maß. Ebenfalls in erhabenem Relief wiedergegeben ist die Kotelette, sowie das Band des künstlichen Kinnbartes. Das Ohr hat die in Fig. 3a

möglicherweise nicht wie bei Nr. 1 oben mit einer Spitze, sondern mit einem Bogen ab.

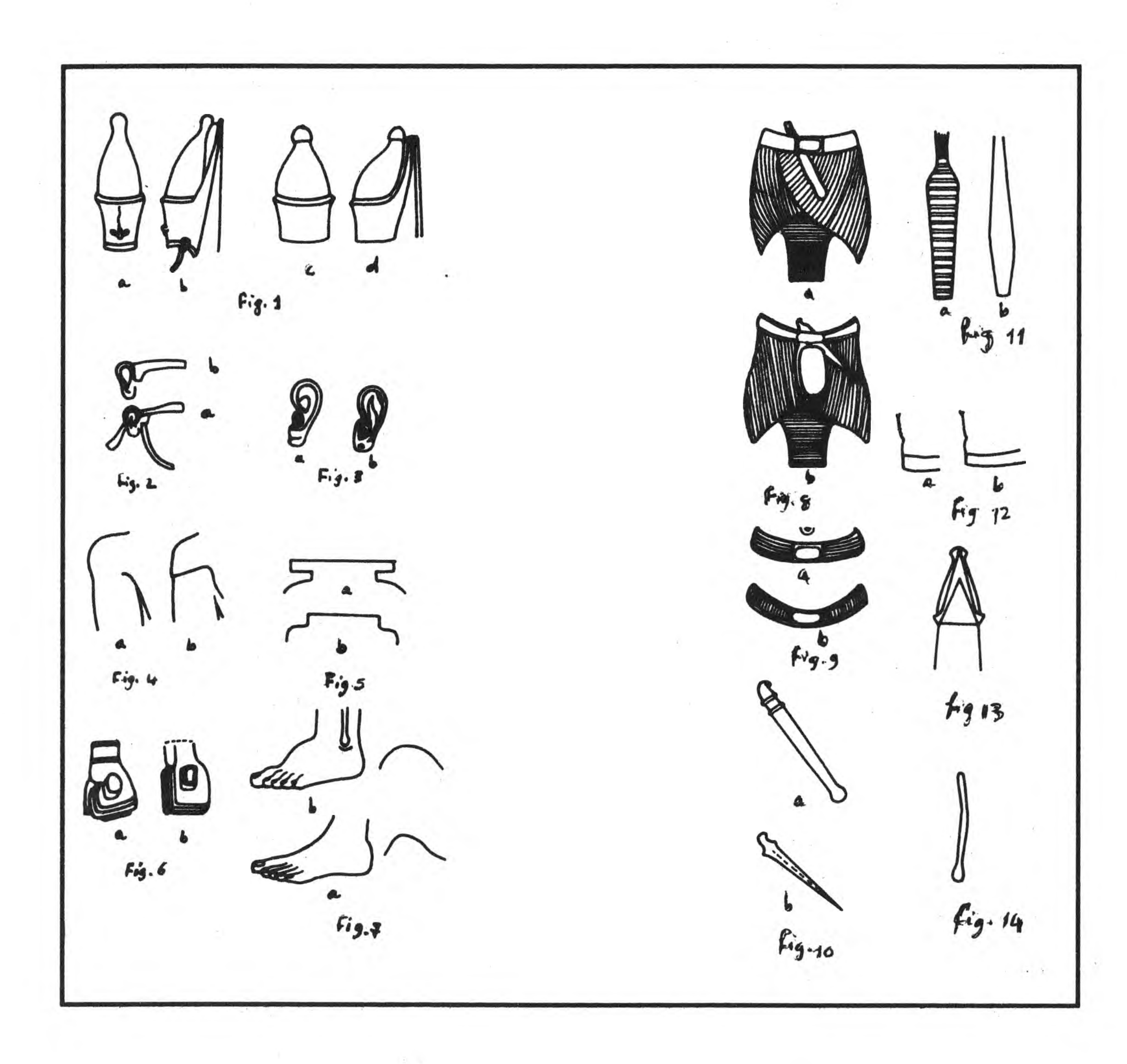
2. Das Gesicht

Seine Form ist fast rund, breiter und voller als etwa bei Nr. 4. Betont wird die Breite zwar durch das umrahmende Nemes, aber auch durch die Wangen, das Kinn und die kräftige Nasenwurzel. Das Stirnband (Fig. 2b) verjüngt sich nicht zu den Seiten hin, erweitert sich aber vor den Ohren in kotelettenartiger Weise nach unten. Ein Band für den Kinnbart ist strukturell nich angegeben : vielleicht war es einst aufgemalt. Die Form der Ohren weicht erheblich von Nr. 1 ab. Fig. 3b zeigt den Unterschied ; außerdem tragen sie die Andeutung eines Loches für Ohrringe. Die

(29) Wie bei Statue Nr. 5 noch deutlich erkennbar.

skizzierte Form. Auf der rechten Seite sind noch Teile des Stirnbandes mit Spuren gelber Bemalung sowie ein Teil der bis zur Kotelette reichenden und rechten Seite sind noch Teile des Stirnbandes mit Spuren gelber Bemalung Teil der bis zur Kotelette reichenden und ornamental als Schminkstrich im Relief aufgesetzten Augenbraue vorhanden. Über dem Stirnband ringelte sich der Uräus empor. Die rechte Schlinge der Kobra ist noch erhalten ; der Schwanz reicht bis nahe an den Rand der unterägyptischen Krone. Die übrigen Partien des Gesichts sind derart zerstört, daß sich, abgesehen von einer Nasenhälfte, keinerlei Züge mehr erkennen lassen.

Augenbrauen sind nicht reliefartig aufgesetzt, sondern als Überaugenwulst modelliert, der sich über der Nasenwurzel fortsetzt und im Bogen nach unten an den Schlaten ausläuft. Auch die aufgesetzt, sondern als Überaugenwulst modelliert, der sich über der Nasenwurzel sowie ein fortsetzt und im Bogen nach unten an den Schlaten ausläuft. Auch die Augen sind nicht reliefartig umrandet : Die oberen Augenlider trenen weit hervor, sodaß der Blick nach unten gerichtet erscheint (Taf. VII, Abb. 1). die Nase ist kurz, dick und nicht gebogen, die Nasenflügel sind aufgebläht. Der füllige Mund ist von tiefen Winkeln begrenzt, die ein wenig nach oben gezogen, den Eindruck eines erstarrten Lächelns vermitteln. Die Kobra war in das Kopftuch eingesetzt und ist verloren. Bei Nr. 2 (Taf. I) ist sie noch vorhanden. Sie reicht bis auf das Stirnband herab ; ihre Schlingen sind in Gestalt einer liegenden 8 gewunden. Hingewiesen sei nur noch auf die beiden hornartigen Spitzen, mit denen das Kopftuch seitlich des



Abbild.3.

3. Der Rumpf

Außer dem oberen Teil der Brust sind alle Partien gut erhalten. Der Thorax ist ausserordentlich breit und vorgewölbt, die Taille dagegen strark eingezogen, wodurch die Hüften gerundet erscheinen. Dieser Habitus, zusammen mit den breiten Schultern, den kräftigen langen Armen und Beine gibt dem Bildwerk eine athletische Statur. Trotzdem hat man alle Härte vermieden, und zwar durch weiche Übergänge in der Modellierung der Muskeln, ohne jedoch die Konturen zu verwischen : dazu bewirkt der Glanz der Politur ein reizvollen Spiel von Licht und Schatten: Die Gestalt vermittelt den Eindruck von Kraft und Jugendlichkeit, zugleich von elastischer Energie. Der abgebrochene Hals war von

Schädels zu seinem Fall nach unten abknickt.

3. Der Rumpf

Alle Partien sind zwar vollständig erhalten, im oberen Bereich jedoch vom Königsbart und den herabhängenden Enden des Nemes verdeckt. Der Thorax ist schmaler als bei Nr. 1, aber weiter vorgewölbt. Die proportional gesehen breitere Taille dagegen gleitet ohne Einschnitt in die relativ schmalen Hüften über, die oberhalb des Gürtels einen leichten Fettwulst aufweisen. Die Statur mit den ebenfalls breiten Schultern, aber kurzen, gerade herabhängenden Armen und gleichermassen kurzen, stämmigen Beinen, erhält so ein etwas walzenfärmiges Gepräge. Unterstrichen wird die Form noch durch die hart gegeneinander, fast ornamental abgesetzten Muskelkonturen und die geringere Sorgfalt in der Politur : Die Gestalt wirkt zwar kraftvoll, aber im Vergleich zu Nr. 1 klobzig und unelastisch. Der im Verhaltnis zu Hüften und Beiner überlange

einem vierstreifigen, reliefierten Halskragen eingefaßt, dessen einzelne Streifen mit engen vertikalen Linien und am unteren Rand mit tropfenförmigen Anhängseln versehen waren. Reste des Halses lassen erkennen, daß die Kopfnicker weich ausmodelliert in einer Vertiefung oberhalb des Schlüsselbeins endeten. Die betonten Brüste laufen in der Mitte des Thorax in weichen Begrenzungslinien aus. Die Brustwarzen sind zwar abgestoßen, aus einem Vergleich mit Nr. 4 (Taf. VII) aber können wir erschliessen, daß sie sanft, konisch geformt und von einem angedeuten Hof umgeben waren. Der Thorax setzt sich durch weiche, von der Mitte in Richtung der Hüften nach unten geschwungenen Mulden von der nur wenig hervortretenden Bauchpartie ab (Fig. 12a).

Eine Mulde in der Mitte des Thorax führt auf den

Oberkörper und der große Kopf mit den vorgewölbten, nach unten gerichteten Augen zeigen, daß die Figur offenbar von unten betrachtet werden und auf den Betrachter mit wuchtiger Majestät herabblicken sollte, während Nr. 1, obwohl der Kopf fehlt, in die Ferne zu schauen und zu schreiten scheint. Um den runden im Winkel gegen die Brust abgesetzten Hals trägt dieser König ein einfaches Band anstatt eines Halskragens. Die Brüste wirken wie aufgesetzt und deshalb noch betonter als bei Nr. 1, ebenso die knopfartigen, von keinem Hof umgebenen Brustwarzen. Der Thorax springt in zwei fast halbkugeligen Erhebungen sträker als bei Nr. 1 über den Bauch vor.

Der Thorax springt in zwei fast halbkugeligen Erhebungen stärker

tiefliegenden Bauchnabel hinab, dessen obere Hälfte von einer bogenförmigen Krebe umschlossen wird. Infolge der enormen Weite der kugelförmigen Schultern, enstehen zwischen der Brust und den Armen ein Zwischenraum, der, wenn auch nicht durchbrochen, so doch tief eingeschnitten ist, um soviel wie möglich vom Profil sichtbar werden zu lassen. Arme, Achselhöhlen und Thorax wurden so weit aus dem Hintergrund herausmodelliert, daß die Figur vollplastisch wirkt. Die Brust zieht sich in sanftem Schwung zur Schulter hin; die Schulterrundung ist zwar durch eine Mulde abgesetzt, aber andererseites durch eine Sehne, die zur Brust hin in einer dünnen erhabenen Linie ausläuft, an den Körper gebunden, wodurch die ebenfalls deutlich ausgearbeitete Achselhöhle gebildet wird (Fig. 4a). Auch auf der

als bei Nr. 1 über den Bauch vor. Der Bauch grenzt sich durch eine bogenförmige enge Mulde gegen den Thorax hin ab (Fig. 12b). Eine senkrechte Krebe zieht sich in der Mitte des Thorax herab und mündet in den als kreisförmige Vertiefung gestalteten Bauchnabel. Da die Schultern im Verhältnis zu Thorax and Taille etwas schmaler sind als bei Nr. 1, liegen die Arme eng am Körper an und sind von ihm nicht durch Unterscheidung getrennt. Da ferner das Becken fast keine Wölbung aufweist, entfiel gegenüber Nr. 1 die Notwendigkeit, die Unterarme nach außen abzuwinkeln. Während daher Nr. 1 in Bewegung begriffen erscheint, wirkt Nr. 3 statisch. Die Brustmuskeln ziehen sich breit zur Schulter hin und bilden mit ihr nahezu eine Einheit. Vom Oberarm dagegen, ist die Schulter durch eine schräge Kerbe geternnt und gleicht so rundum einem mantelartigen Überwurf. Eine Verbindungssehne zur Brust ist nicht angedeutet, die Achslhöhle nicht ausgearbeitete (Fig. 4b). Die Bearbeitung der Rückseite läßt nur wenig Sorgfalt erkennen: Die

Rückseite sind Schulter und Rücken organisch miteinander verbunden. Der Rücken ist flach und wo er am Rückenpfeiler lehnt, naturgetreu modelliert. Der Rückenpfeiler ist zwar breit, aber unterschnitten, und so T-förmig vom Körper abgehoben (Fig.5a).

4. Die Gliedmassen

Auch Arme und Beine sind naturgetreu mit allen Details gestaltet. Der Oberarm ist ein wenig dünner als der Unterarm in der Gegend der Ellenbeuge und entspricht so exakt den anatomischen Verhältnissen. Von der Ellenbeuge wölbt sich der Unterarm ein wenig nach aussen, um sich zum Handgelenk hin zu verjüngen. Elle, Speiche und Streckmuskel sind angegeben; ihre Konturen reichen bis zur Hand. Der Ellenbogenknochen erscheint als kleine, konische Erhebung. Die Riste der zur Faust geballeten Hände, die einen runden, an den Enden etwas

Schultern springen buckelartig, mit dem Rükken unverbunden nach hinten vor. Der Rücken selbst ist zwar relativ weniger betont, hat aber kubische Konturen und hebt sich wegen fehlender Unterscheidung optisch nur wenig von dem an sich schmalen Rückenpfeiler ab (Fig. 5b).

4. Die Gliedmassen

Arme und Beine sind zwar mit anatomischer Gliederung versehen, doch so, daß diese Merkmale isoliert und ornamental anmuten. Der Gesamte Arm verjüngt sich in konischer Form zum Handgelenk hin. Der Oberarm erscheint daher massig, aber nich athletisch, Daß Muskelkonturen nich hervor, ebensowenig wie am Unterarm Die Arme erwecken den Anschein, als seien sie in die voluminöse, leicht abfallende Schulter wie bei einer Gliederpuppe eingehängt. Sehnen und Muskelstruktur hat man durch Kreben angedeutet. Der herzförmige Ellenbogenknochen ist, wie die Brustwarzen, knopfartig aufgesetzt, die Knöchel des Handgelenks. hat man nicht

dünneren Mekesstab umschließen, sind nach aussen gewölbt (Fig. 6a). Rechts sind die Knöchel des Handgelenks ausgebildet. Ausgeformt sind ferner die Handballen. Die Finger sind einzeln behandelt, besonders der kleine Finger. Sie sind mit Fingernägeln versehen; sogar das Nagelbett hat man durch einen Bogen angedutet. Der Daumen jedoch läßt keine Gliederung erkennen. Außerdem wurde die linke Hand wohl wegen ihrer geringen Distanz vom Körper, lässiger bearbeitet. Um die Handgeleke trägt der König Armreifen, die noch Spuren gelber Bemalung aufweisen.

Stärker und ornamentaler als an den Armen, treten die Konturen an den Beinen hervor[30] . Die Kniescheibe wirkt wie ein aufgesetzter

angegeben. In den ebenfalls zur Faust geballten Händen trägt der Herrscher einen quaderförmigen mit der Kartusche Ramses II. versehenen Stab. Obwohl die Statue um ca.25cm. kleiner ist als Nr. 1, haben die Fäuste die gleiche Größe. Sie hängen gerade herab und lassen, besonders auf der Rückseite deutlich den Kubus erkennen, aus dem sie gearbeitet wurden (Fig. 6b). Die Finger sind nicht einzeln behandelt, sondern nur durch Trennritzen dargestellt. Der Daumen verdeckt den Zeigefinger nicht wie bei Nr. 1, hat aber deutlich gestaltete Glieder. Wie bei den Armen, so tritt auch an den Beinen die Modellierung wenig hervor, Nur mäßig ausgebildet sind die bis zum Fuß herabreichenden Waden; allerdings ist der Wadenmuskel der Innenseite Linien umgrenzt. Das Schienbein hat keinen so scharfen Grat wie Nr. 1 und endet bereits auf dem Unterschenkel. Unterhalb des Knies aber ragt es etwas unorganisch wulstig hervor.

(30) Wir haben es vermieden, die Beschreibungmit anatomischen Ausdrücken zu überfachten; trotzdem ließen sich einige spezifische Muskelstrükturen nicht anders kennlich machen: Zur Identifikation verwende man daher einen anatomischen Atlas für Künstler oder Archäologen.

flacher Kubus, obwohl sie aberundet, geteilt und oben breiter als unten ist. Auch das Schienbein zieht sich als scharfer Grat vom Muskel unterhalb der Kniescheibe bis zum Fußrist, und der dreieckige Muskel oberhalb der Kniescheibe hat fast geometrische Form. Trotzdem hat der Bildhauer auch hier die Übergänge weich modelliert, vor allem an den Waden, und der Y-förmigen, die Kniescheibe umspannenden Schenkelfascie, am inneren, großen Schenkelmuskel, am Schneidermuskel auf der Innenseite neben der Kniebeuge und bei der Delle oberhalb der Wade, auf der Aussenseite des Beines. Die Waden schwellen unterhalb des Knies und verjüngen sich nach unten zu auf Knochenstärke, ebenfalls der lange Wadenbeinmuskel. Der Knöchel erhebt sich in einer flachen Mulde. Der Fußristknickt in stumpfem Winkel vom Schienbein ab

Als auffälliger Fettwulst umgibt auch die Schenkelfaszie in weitem Bogen das Knie. Den Schneidermuskel hingegen hat man kaum angedeutet, da sich die innere Seitenkontur des Beines nur flach in den Hintergrund einsenkt. Die Delle seitlich der Kniebeuge ersheint als Dreieck schematisiert, ebenso wie der dreieckige, proportional an Nr. 1 gemessen, etwas größere Muskel oberhalb der Kniescheibe. Schematisch wiedergegeben ist auch der Wadenbeinmuskel, nämlich als zwei parallel nach unten verlaufende, schwach reliefierte Linien, die den Knöchel mit einem Halbkreis umschließen, den ein darunter befindlicher, halbmondformiger Wulst noch untrstreicht. Allein, die in Gestalt von zwei Höckern modellierte Kniescheibe kommt den natürlichen Gegebenheiten näher, als bei Nr. 1, ist aber größer ausgearbeitet. Ganz anders ist der Fuß geformt (Fig. 7b) : Er ist relativ kurz und hat einen steilabfallenden, nicht gewölbten Rist. Der Hacken ist an den Seiten kaum ausgebildet, ebensowenig die Fußhöhlung, so daß der Fuß

und setzt sich leicht konkav zum großen Zeh hin fort. Der Hacken tritt nach innen hervor, die Fussbeuge ist gut gehöhlt und von der Basis abgehoben. Die Zehen sind lang und gerade, der kleine Zeh etwas nach innen gebogen. Der große Zeh hat Schlegelform (Fig. 7a).

5. Der Schurz

Er hat den seit dem Alten Reich üblichen Schnitt der könglichen Zeremonialtracht[31] : ein auf der Vorderseite von links nach rechts übereinandergeschlagenes plissiertes Tuch dessen vorderen Zwischenraum ein quergerippter, fast bis zu den Knien reichender trapezförmiger Larz ausfüllt (Fig. 8a). Zusammengehalten wird dieser Schurz von einem breiten, auf den Hüften ruhenden Gürtel, der vorn, unterhalb des Bauchnabels mit einer rechteckigen Schließe versehen ist, und

platt auf der Basis ruht. Auch die Zehen sind kurz und gekrümmt, die Spitzen leicht nach oben gestülpt. Der Zehenabstand, obwohl wenig eingeschnitten, ist breit, der kleine Zeh nach außen gerichtet: Dieser König hatte offenbar einen Spreizfuß.

5. Der Schurz

Aufgrund des gegenüber Nr. 1 kürzer proportionierten Unterkörpers, bei fast gleicher Länge des Oberkörpers, erscheint der Schurz kürzer und hinten nicht so weit herabreichend. Dieser Eindruck täuscht jedoch: denn er entsteht durch den nach vorn tiefer herabgezogenen und schmaler werdenden Gürtel (Fig. 9b). Daher, aber auch wohl wegen des schmaleren Beckens, zieht sich der Überschlag weniger schräg nach oben und endet mit leicht rückläufigem Bogen bereits ummittelbar rechts neben der Gürtelschließe (Fig. 8b). Die Front ist daher geschlossen, und der trapezförmige Latz reicht, um seine angemessene Länge zu

(31) Mit dem gleichen Schurz ist z. B. schon die bekannte Chefrenstatue des Kairener Museum bekleidet.

Schließe versehen ist, und von dem auf der Rückseite ein Tierschwanz herabhängt. Nach unten zu ist der Schurz als erhabenes Relief ausgearbeitet, um die Dicke des Stoffs anzudeuten, mit einer flachen Begrenzungskante auf den Schenkel und einer breiten, unterschnitten in den Zwischenräumen, wodurch die Spannung des Stoffs angedeutet werden soll. Die Plisseefalten sind als feine, wenn auch schematisch wirkende Kanneluren wiedergegeben. Die Kanneluren verlaufen über dem rechten, zurückgestellten Oberschenkel bogenförmig und verengen sich nicht nach vorn zu, um so die Wölbung der Hüften abzubilden. Auch im übrigen ist der Schurz so modelliert, daß die Form der Hüften und Oberschenkel gleichsam durch den Stoff hindurch sichtbar bleibt.

Der zum Rücken hin nur wenig breiter werdende seine angemessene Länge zu bewahren, bis auf das Knie, während er bei Nr. 1 etwa 5 cm darüber aufhört. In Wirklichkeit ist der Schurz sogar verhältnismäßig länger und ruht, im Gegensatz zur ersten Statue auf den Hüftenknochen. Die untere Begrenzung des Schurzes hat man nicht unterschnitten sondern wie bei der Krone als stumpfe Kanten gestaltet, die z. T. konturlos auf die Beine und den Hintergrund übergehen. Die Plisseefalten sind zwar eng aber nur als eingeritzte Linien wiedergegeben, die sich schematisch herabziehen, ohne der Beckenwölbung oder der Raffung des Überschlages zu folgen.

Geringe Sorgfalt der Bearbeitung läßt die Rückseite erkennen. Hier fällt der Schurz reliefartig über eine kaum angedeutete Körperstruktur. Der hintere Überfall des Schurzes wird von vorn auf dem Steg zwischen den Beinen sichtbar; da der Steg jedoch weit in das Beinprofil hineinreicht, erscheint die Konstruktion unorganisch und eher als Relief denn als Plastik.

Die Hüften sind eng und erweitern sich erst zu den Beinen hin. Der

Gürtel ist mit einigen Zickzacklinien versehen, die wohl die Struktur eines Gewebes darstellen sollen und wird von einer aus zwei horizontalen Streifen bestehenden Borte eingefaßt (Fig. 9a). Auf der Schließe oder Schnalle ist eine waagerechte Kartusche mit dem Namen Ramessu Mariamun eingraviert. Es läßt sich aber noch erkennen, daß dieser Namenszug über einem zuvor ausgeschabten, offenbar anderen, nachträglich eingesetzt wurde. Zu erwähnen bleibt noch ein Dolch mit falkenköpfigen Griff, den der König von rechts nach links durch den Gürtel gesteckt trägt (Fig. 10a). Die nur wenig zugespitzte Scheide dieses Dolches endet unten in einem kreisförmigen Abschluß.

Den Tierschwanz hat man auf dem Steg zwischen den Beinen im Relief wieder gegeben. Er ist oben schmaler als unten, und ein nach hinten zu breitere Gürtel ist von einer einstufigen Borte eingefaßt und fischgratähnlich gemustert (Fig. 9b). Die schmale Schließe trägt die Kartusche Ramses II., eine weitere, senkrechte Kartusche wurde auf der Front des Überschlags eingemeißelt. Der wesentlich schmalere, am Ende der Scheide spitz zulaufende Dolch mit dem undetaillierten falkenköpfigen Griff steckt ziemlich schräg unter der Schließe (Fig. 10b) im Gürtel. Trotz der Schraglage wird er noch von der Gravur des Kartuschenrandes überschnitten, ein Sachverhalt, der zur Fehlinterpretation Anlaß gegeben hat, und deshalb noch erortert werden muß . Wie bei Nr. 1 hat man zwischen den Beinen einen Tierschwanz dargestellt (Fig. 11b), allerdings nur als Bemalung, in gelber Farbe mit roter Umrandung, deren Spuren noch schwach sichtbar sind.

schematisiertes Muster von vertikalen Wellen und horizontalen Streifen bildet seine Haarstruktur (Fig. 11a).

6. Das Postament

Die Schrittlänge, d.h. der in Seitenansicht gemessene Abstand zwischen dem großen Zeh des rechten und dem Hacken des linken Füßes beträgt 22 cm. Die Füße stehen auf einer Basis von 57 cm Höhe und schreiten über die eingravierte Darstellung der "Neun Bogen" dem Symbol fur die unterjochten Fremdvölker. Auf der Front- und Rückseite des Sockels befinden sich 8, zum Teil stark korrodierte Kolumnen einer auf Ramses II. bezüglichen Inschrift[32]. Über dem Sockel ragt hinten der oben zugespitzte Rückenpfeiler empor, auf dessen unterer ca. cm breiten Fläche zwei Kolumnen eines ebenfalls unter Ramses II.

6. Das Postament

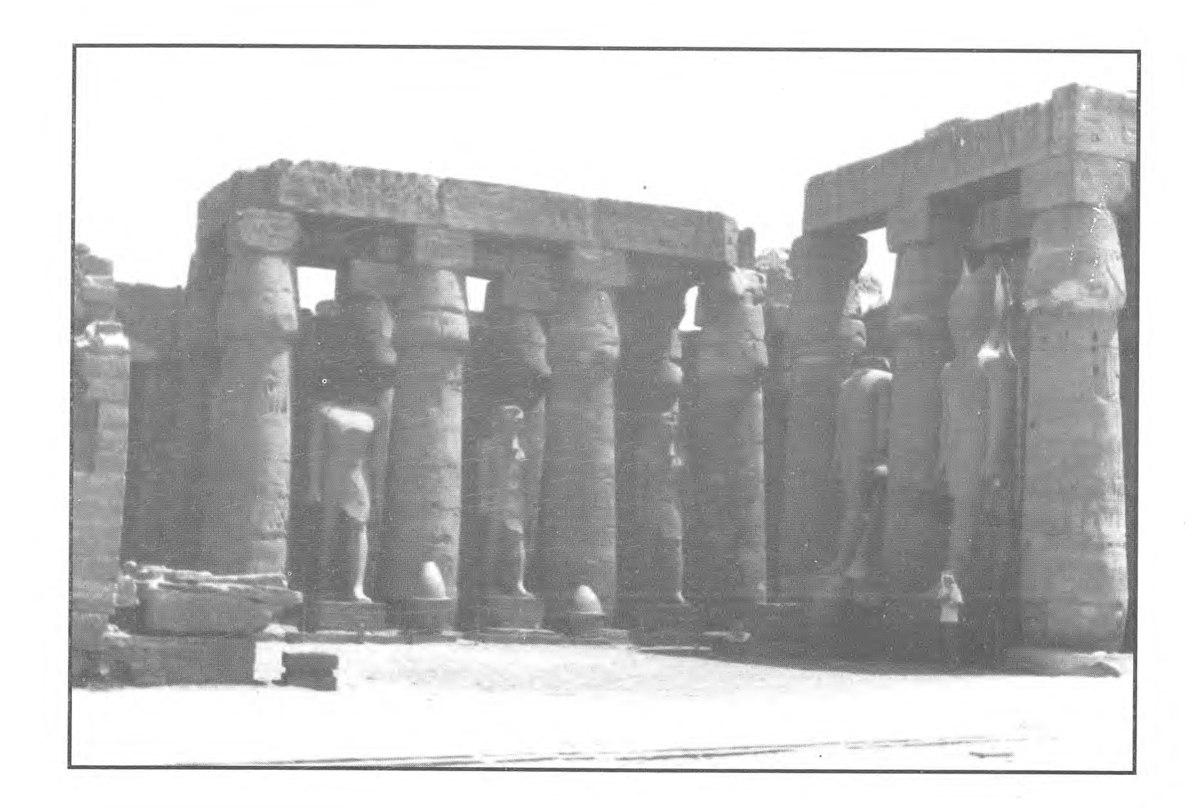
Vom Profil betrachtet, stehen die Füße distanzlos hintereinander, wodurch die geringe Schrittweite wird, die sich auch faktisch nachweisen läßt. Während bei Nr. 1 ein an der rechten Schulter angelegtes Lot auf die Fußbeuge fällt, berührt es bei Nr. 3 die Zehen. Die Basis ist um knapp ein Drittel schmaler. Außerdem wurde sie durch ein dickeres Sandsteinfundament gegenüber Nr. 1 um ein Weniges erhoben. Die "Neun Bogen" finden sich nicht dargestellt, auch nicht in Farhspuren. Vier Kolumnen einer Ramsestitulation sind dagegen auf der Vorderfront des Sockels deutlich lesbar, ebenso wie die zwei Kolumnen einer Inschrift auf der Fläche des nur cm breiten Rückenpfeilers.

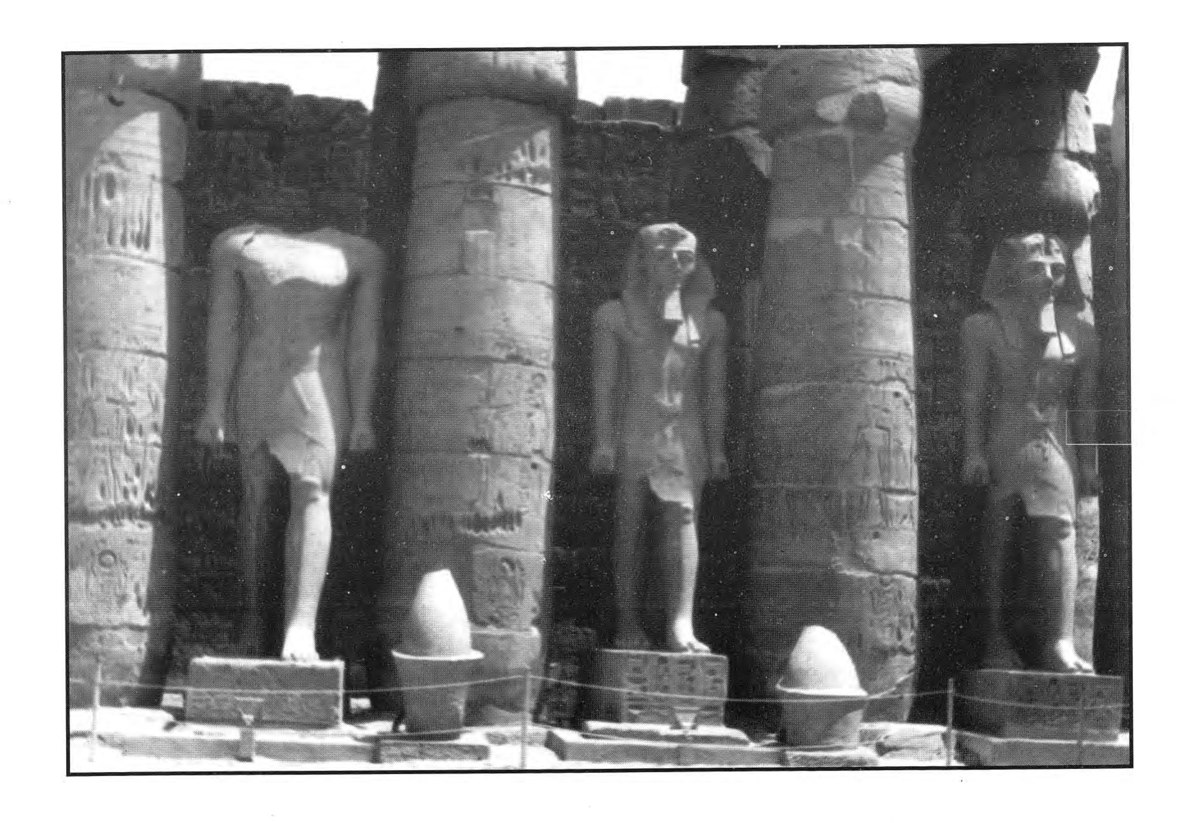
(32) Zu den Texten verweisen wir auf die im Anhang aufgefuhrten und übersetzten Inschriften, die auf den Rückenpfeilern, den Seiten und Sockeln des Statuenensembles angbracht sind.

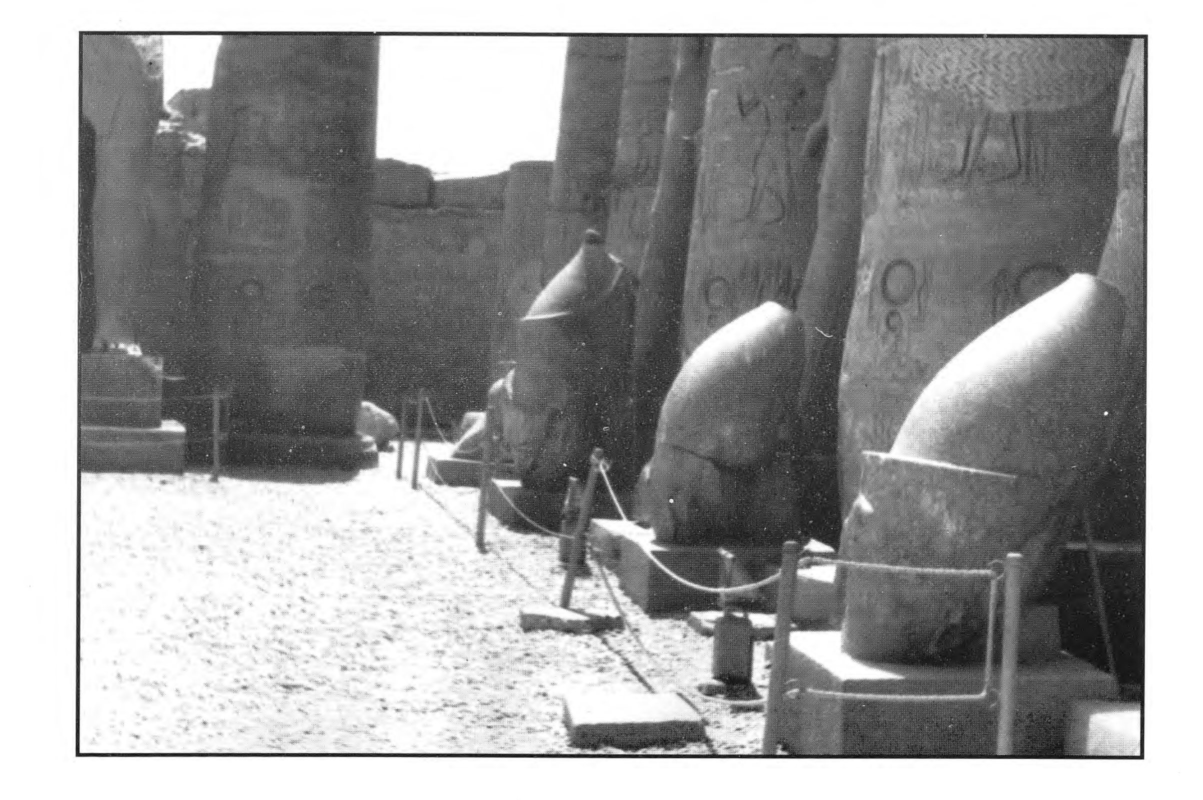
unter Ramses II. eingemeißelten Textes zu lesen sind.[33]

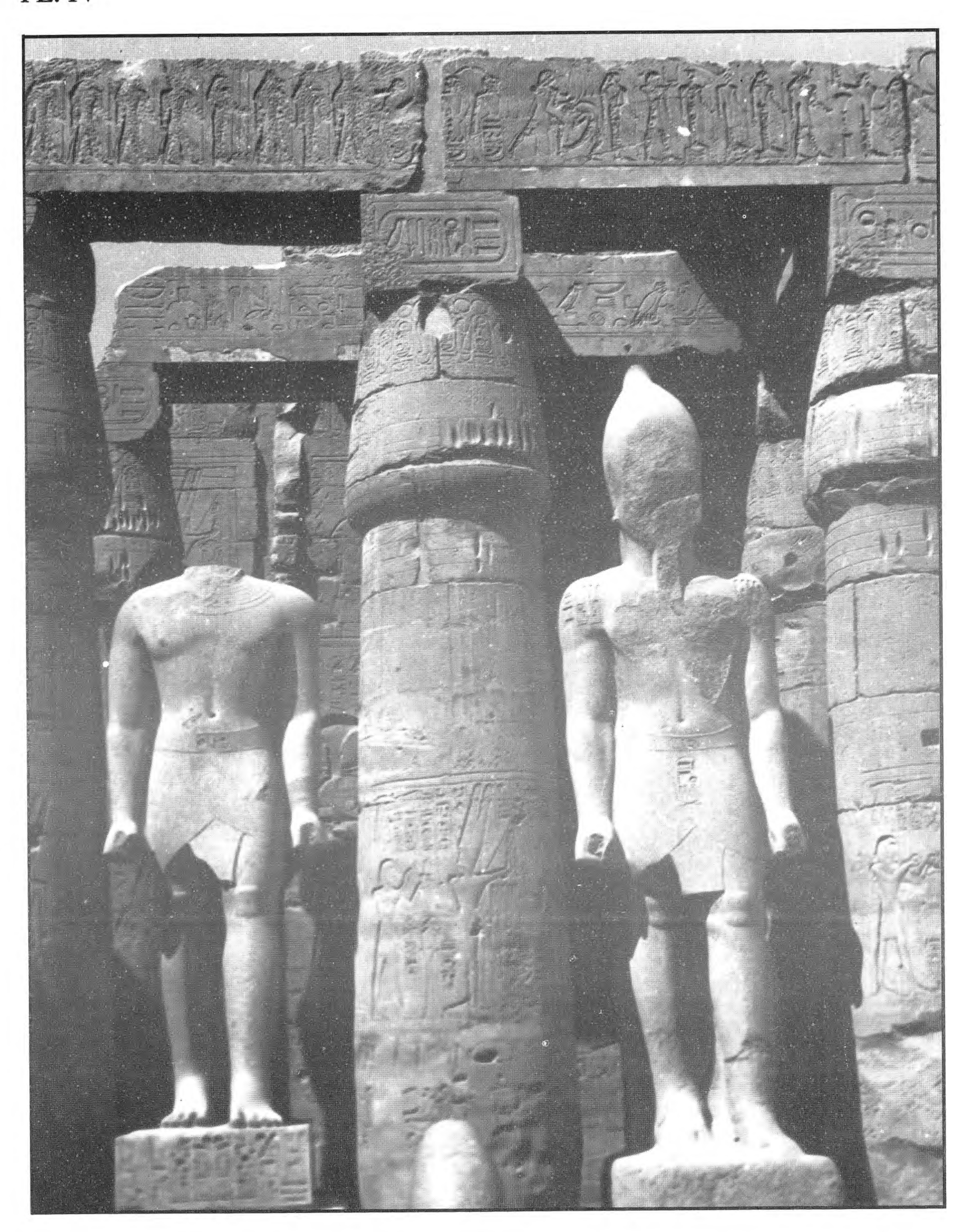
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PL. I









Taf. 1, 2.



Taf.IV, 3.

NEW DISCOVERIES CONCERNING THE FABRIC OF PAPYRUS

Corrado BASILE

The making of papyrus paper has always stimulated the interest of scholars and studious hobbyists, perhaps because little has been handed down concerning the techniques used by the Ancient Egyptians. Many studies have been made over the past four centuries in order to bring light to this mystery, starting from 1572. The first attempts to make papyrus paper go back to the XVIIIth century, but they were without positive results, like the others which followed from time to time.

About twenty-seven years ago I also began to get interested in this problem by trying, to the contrary of those who had preceded me, to obtain papyrus paper exactly the same as that manufactured by the Ancient Egyptians for writing uses particularly during the pharaonic epoch. It was not sufficient for me to work up the papyrus and to produce sheets that would give others the fleeting illusion of having reached the aim ; I felt that the manufacturing process was not completed by simply working on the raw material, by soaking the strips in ordinary water, by rolling or pounding them, or by using modern whitening substances, as others before me had done and continue doing, deceiving themselves to have obtained sheets of good papyrus paper. These sheets, in fact, after a short time, show very serious defects and an enormous difference compared to the ancient ones kept in the principal museums of the world. The comparison with the original papyri shows, without the shadow of a doubt, that those processes are mistaken.

My research can be divided into the following phases :

1) Examination of the available ancient sources which can essentially be divided into two groups :

a- ancient Egyptian figurative subjects, containing themes connected with the harvesting of papyrus and some of the preliminary phases of its processing ;

b- information concerning the Ancient Egyptian, Ancient Greek, Roman and Arabic periods, and particularly that which is handed down by Plinius in his *Natural History*.

2) Analysis of the recensions made of the Plinian text over the centuries in order to follow attentively the evolution of the problem, in modern research and studies, regarding the manufacture of papyrus paper.

3) The making of sheets with material obtained from Syracusan papyrus and from Nilotic papyrus growing in its natural state.

4) Chemical analysis of papyrus fragments from the Pharaonic, Ptolemaic, Roman, Coptic, Byzantine and Arabic periods existing in the museums and libraries, and of more recent papyri (made by Salvatore Politi, Giuseppe Naro, Luigi Malerba, etc.) and researches, with the analysis carried out, on the waters of certain depressions or wells fed not only by the Nile, but also by springs.

5) Chemical analysis of the Nilotic papyrus plant, both in its natural state as when cultivated, and doing the same for the Syracusan one, along with observations of its anatomical structure.

Besides Egypt, Syracuse has had and still has an important role in the manufacture of papyrus paper. The plant was introduced into Sicily from Egypt in about 250 BC, during the reign of Hieron II. Already then the Syracusans tried to make the paper, however, not knowing the working techniques of the Ancient Egyptians, they were only able to produce paper of poor quality. Therefore, they were compelled to continue getting their writing paper from Egypt.

Another proof concerning the making of papyrus paper in Sicily comes down to us from the learned Arabian traveller Ibn-Haukal, who visited Palermo between 972 and 973 AD. and in the swamps around the city found, to his great wonder, papyri growing, describing this fact as follows : *"Among such places there is a swampy bottom covered by papyri for writing, which I thought were to be seen only in Egypt, but here they make ship cordage with them, and those few sheets needed by the Sultan."*

After some eight centuries, when in Egypt paper was no longer made since about the XII[th] century, papyrus paper was again produced in Sicily and uninterruptedly up until today. The merit for this goes to the syracusan scholar Saverio Landolina who began studying papyrus in 1780. In a dissertation of his of 1803, we read : *"The Syracusan papyrus plant is the same as that of Egypt. I have observed that during the months of July and August the plants grow to perfect maturity, because it is then that we see the opening of the little flower spikes described above."*

"Plinius clearly explained that the part most suitable for good manufacturing had to be the middle portion of the stem, cutting, however, the part closer to the roots..."

"I noticed however, that as soon as the plants were cut they could not all be divided into strips because the stems dried up from one moment to the next and, it was impossible to reduce them into delicate strips... so I decided to keep them in water and thus the work of dividing them into strips was made easier."

Landolina continues as follows: *"I therefore soaked the strips in rain water because fountain water was lacking in town. Thus I believe Plinius's expression should be read: texuntur omnes tabula madentes Nili aqua; and not tabula madente. And I saw the reason why from repeated experiments from which I adduced : turbidua liquor vim glutini praebte, and not glutinis. In reality this process requires a great deal of practice and diligence in order to fix the length of time that these strips must in the water and much depends on the ripeness of the stem, because when it is less ripe it needs more time before its natural gluten melts remain in the water, If it, however, stays in water longer than necessary the strips lose their whiteness ; and if less, two layers of the strips cannot be united well together[1]."*

Landolina, as we can read in his publications and manuscripts which have come down to us, knew about the fact that, in order to make writing paper, the Ancient Egyptians used the middle part of the caulis. He realized however, that the strips, without ablutions, did not stick perfectly to each other simply by rolling or pressing

(1) s., Nov Landolina elle di letteratura, Scienze, Arti e Commercio, n° 30 and 31, Naples, January 20[th] and 27[th], 1803, p.121-122.

them and they lost their whiteness. Since he did not succeed in discovering the content of the special water used in antiquity to block the changing of the ivory white colour of the freshly cut strips, he tried to eliminate the defects mentioned above by soaking the strips, for a certain period of time, in ordinary water. The final result was, in spite of all, a dark sheet, not uniform and of short durability ; this led him to consult many experts and chemists. The advice he received, if nothing else, was useful to enable him to obtain a type of paper that became whiter as soon as it was worked on, and which was praised on July 1792 by the classical scholar Frederik Münter.

When Landolina died in 1814, the Politi family first and the Naro family afterwards inherited his activity, using, however, strips taken from the lower part of young caulises that, contrariwise to those obtained from the middle portion, stick easily to one another, resulting however, in a very soft paper, rough and of limited duration. The above-said process, mistaken for the reasons stated above, was followed-with the variation of not immerging the strips in water-by scholars and craftsmen, among whom Malerba[2]. This was because they did not know the processing techniques in order to get papyrus paper for writing use.

I also used, at first, the lower part of the caulis putting however, differently from the others, the strips in an ablution. Afterwards, the discovery of the exact chemical composition used for the immunization of the strips allowed me to finally utilize the middle part of the caulis. It was precisely the practical observation of the inferior features of the sheets obtained by putting the sheets in immersion in ordinary water (rarely of an ivory white colour, no uniformity and limited durability), that convinced me to persevere in this lengthy research, allowing me to learn those secrets still unknown to others.

For almost twenty years now in Egypt (after this activity had been abandoned for about eight centuries, while its processing secrets were lost since they were no longer

(2) L. Malerba, *Storia della pianta del papiro in Sicilia e la produzione della carta in Siracusa*, Bologna 1968, p. 540-55.

handed down) many factories have been set up where papyrus paper is produced with the method of immerging in ordinary water.

I cannot, however, agree with the assertion of a recent scholar who, in a publication of 1980[3], defines such a method, which I already had used since 1962 and shortly afterward discontinued, as a rediscovery of his, subdividing the process into *"the method with fresh strips and the method with dry strips"*. Nor can I neglect to mention that such a method had already been described in 1759 by Caylus[4] and in 1803 by Landolina[5].

The comparison with the ancient papyri and my lengthy practical experience categorically deny a further observation made by the same scholar, according to which "... *a complete whiteness is practically impossible. The strips, although of a waxen white colour when freshly cut, change colour immediately from cream to light brown when they are laminated or if they are hammered."*[6]

This assertion induces one to suspect that the above-said scholar has not taken into a just consideration, perhaps unknowingly, the papyri produced by me which are now at the same high level as those made by his famous ancestors, for their whiteness, fineness and smoothness.

If the above-stated scholar, as well as the others for that matter, knew about the working technique, especially that used before 332 BC, that is during the Pharaonic age, which I have recently rediscovered and used in the manufacture of the most valued sheets of my Institute, he would not have soaked the strips in ordinary water.

(3) H. Ragab, *Le papyrus*, Le Caire 1980, p. 138-145.

(4) Comte de Caylus, "Dissertation sur le papyrus", in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* XXVI-17, Paris 1759, p. 307-308.

(5) *O.c.*, p. 121-122.

(6) H. Ragab, *o.c.*, . p. 125.

Already on March 21, 1926 Father Malha[7], in a conference held in the hall of the Museum of Alexandria, (Egypt), on papyrus, spoke about the immersion in a liquid which still, at that time, was time, was of an unknown nature.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that the most jealously guarded secrets of the Ancient Egyptian paper-makers lay in the choice of the optimal age of the caulis, in the "ablutions" for immunizing the strips and in the process for the final treatment of the sheet which determined the stability of the whiteness. It is evident that the papyrus paper manufactured after this industry had been abandoned for centuries, is not comparable, both from the esthetic as well as the durability point of view, to that of antiquity, especially that of the pharaonic age. In antiquity the techniques used for the making of papyrus paper were varied and this can be deduced, among other things, from the different qualities of the papyri which have come down to us.

The papyri of prized quality, as we know well, are those of the Pharaonic age, which were manufactured with a very progressive technique which, perhaps precisely because of its complexity of execution, after having reached the highest degree of refinement, slowly sank until it was modified after the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great. This technique, in fact, as we found out after careful scientific investigations, differs from that used in the following ages : either Hellenistic or Arabic.

It is clear, at this point, that when Plinius, in his work which is the common source for the studies on papyrus, talks about the making of the paper, he refers to a technique of the Hellenistic period and not to that in use during the pharaonic epoch. During the Byzantine era and the Arabic age, with rare exceptions, the workshops did not subject the papyrus to prior treatment with special substances. They used, instead, treatments which did not have the necessary properties for producing the characteristics of the papyri of the Pharaonic epoch. Nor could these characteristics

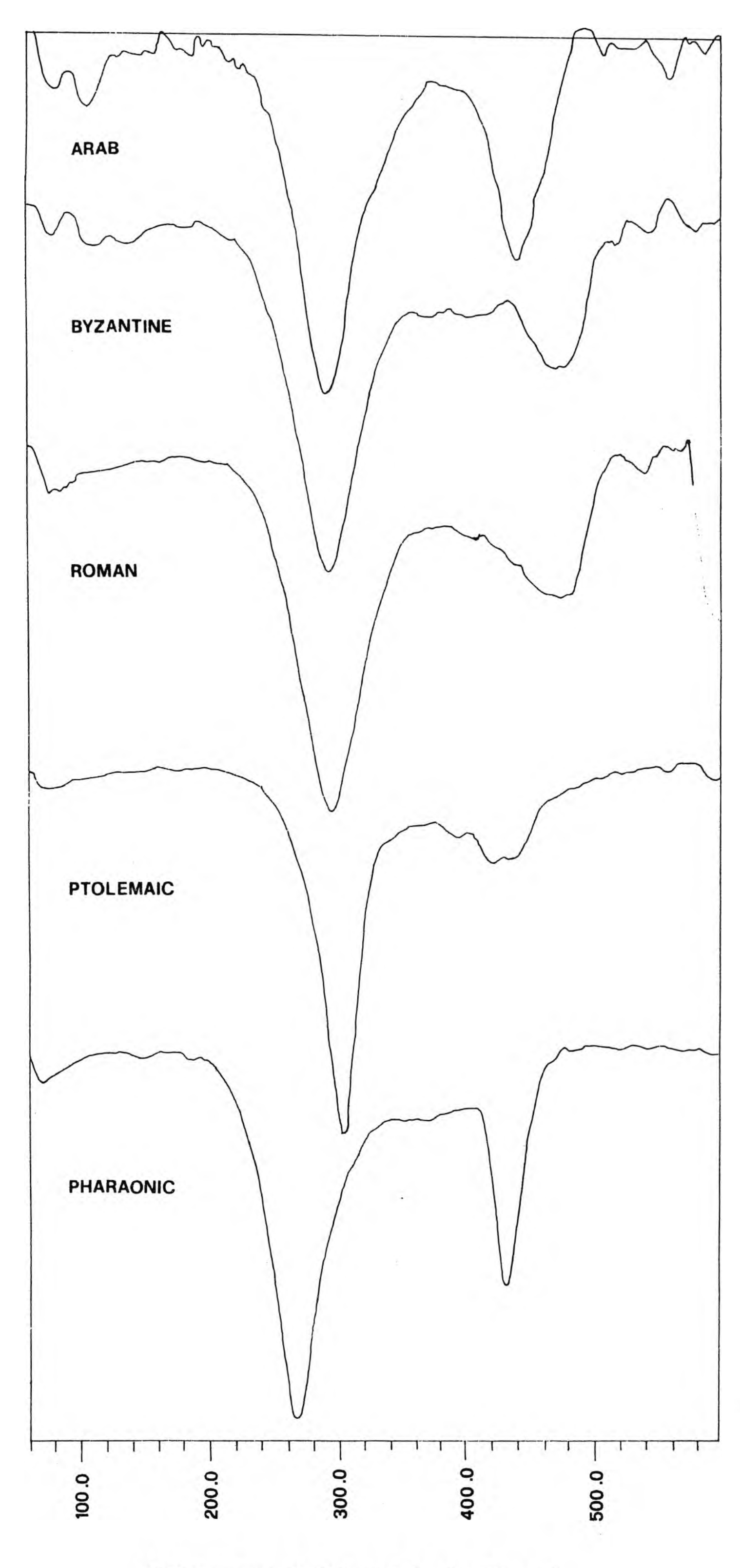
(7) F. Malha, "Les papyrus, leur fabrication, leur histoire, leur déeouverte, ce qu'ils contiennent, etc." dans *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie* 22, 1926, p. 212-236.

be obtained by prior mechanical treatments (for example : by rolling and hammering). The proof of this is that in Egypt papyrus paper is produced with the same characteristics as that of the Byzantine period and the Arabic epoch, because the method of soaking the strips in ordinary water is used, subjecting them also to prior mechanical treatments.

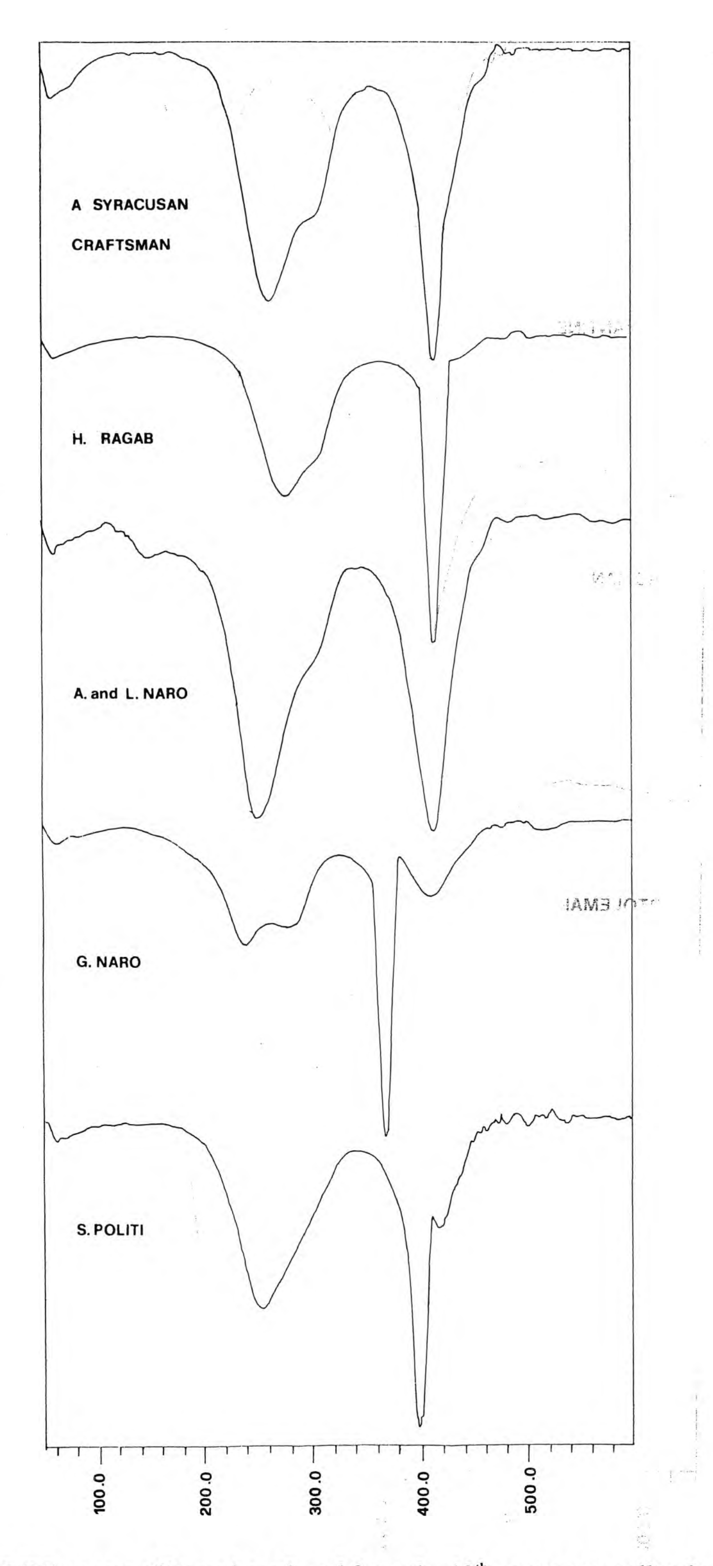
In order to bring light to the various techniques thermoanalytical examinations have been made, among others, on papyrus fragments of the Pharaonic, the Ptolemaic, the Roman, the Coptic, the Byzantine and the Arabic ages (see fig.1), on papyrus paper samples produced from the nineteenth century down to our time (see fig. 2) and on papyrus paper samples produced by me, with various techniques used—according to my theories—during the different ages (see fig. 3).

The study of the curves of the chief components of papyrus : hemicellulose, cellulose and lignin demonstrates that the position and the height of the peaks—especially that of the lignin—depend essentially on the prior treatment of the strips and can be modified with the final treatment of the sheet (see fig. 3). The theory, therefore, of a certain scholar according to which the lignin peak decreases with the increase of the age of the papyrus, is thereby nullified.

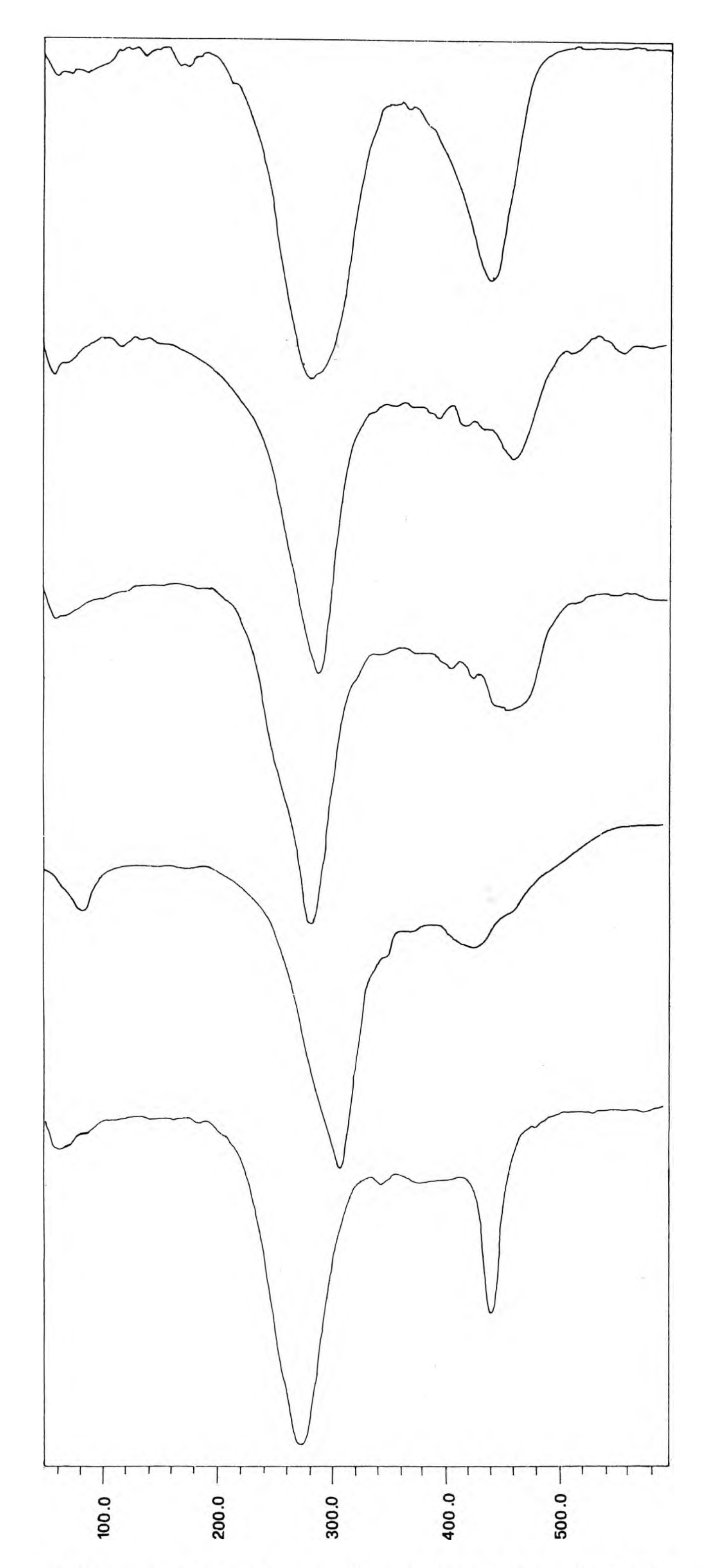
The results of the analyses carried out enable us to establish the manufacturing techniques of papyrus paper and to follow the causes of their decline through the centuries.



DTG curves of different Ancient Papyri.



DTG curves of Papyri produced from the 19th century up tell tody.



DTG curves of Papyri manufactured by Mr Corrado Basile.

THE POLISH-EGYPTIAN PRESERVATION MISSION AT MARINA-EL ALAMEIN IN 1989

Wlodzimierz BENTKOWSKI

In 1988, under an agreement between the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, the Warsaw University-sponsored the Polish Centre for Mediterranean Archeology and the (Polish) State Ateliers for Conservation of Cultural properties (PKZ), and a group of restoration specialists from the Zamosc Division of PKZ went to Egypt, to start conservation and restoration at a site of ancient culture discovered near El Alamein in Northern Egypt.

This site was discovered when building the Marina[1] recreation resort. In the autumn of 1987 first excavations were uncovered by Egyptian and Polish archaeologists. During that time most of the discovered cultural artifacts were catalogued by the polish conservation group from PKZ headed by architect G. Zamoyski, M.A. The following year a conservation team from the zamosc Division of PKZ conducted the work at Marina[2].

The whole ancient site is located on the coast about six kilometers east of El Alamein. It stretches 1,200 m in the east-west direction and 800 m in the north-south direction. About 30 ancient structures were uncovered on the site.

The preliminary research performed until now shows that a settlement existed here between the III[rd] century BC and the V[th] century AD. Among the structures uncovered so far are residential houses, public buildings, religious structures, infrastructural installations and necropolis. The exact shape of the settlement cannot be defined as yet. The placing of individual structures indicate that this was a

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(1) This name was temporarily accepted by researchers as well. The supposition that this could be a locality described and named by Strabon *Leucaspis* have not been confirmed as yet.

(2) Our Polish group included architects : J. Radzik, K. Kaminski, W. Bentkowski, conservator U. Fidecka, constructor A. Sawecki. The Egyptian Archaeologists working with us were : P. Faisal, M. Ashmawy, Abdel-Aziz El-Sayed El Shinawy, Ezzat O. El-Hamahmy.

functionally planned settlement of the city character, similar to other towns erected by newcomers from the Hellad[3].

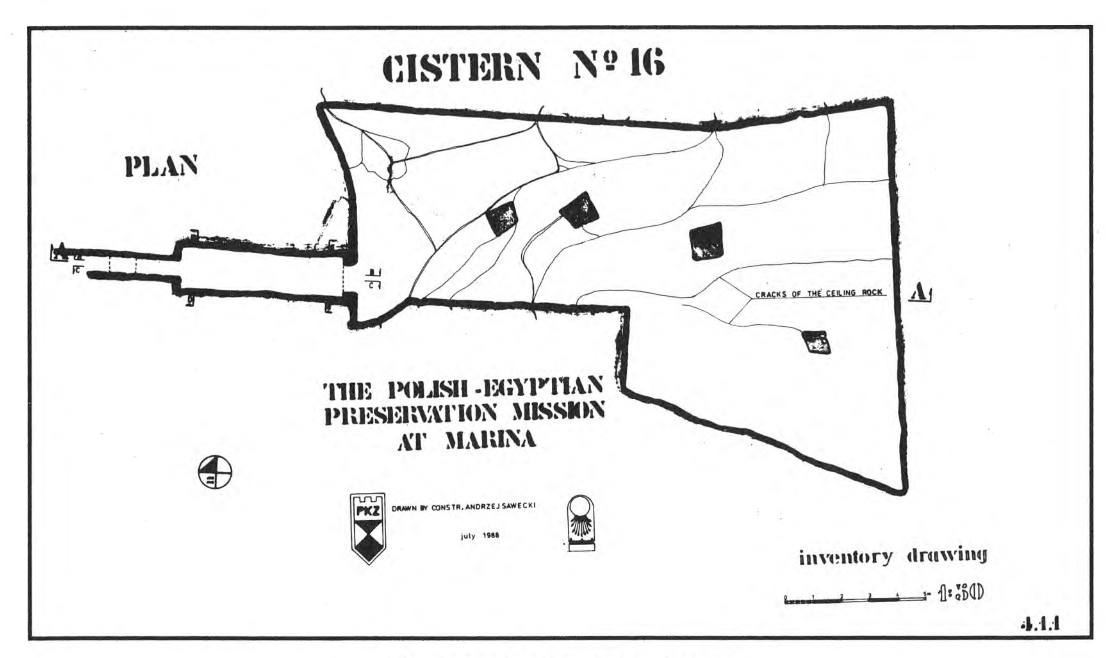


Fig. 1- Projection of the cistern.

The state of decay of the various artifacts is different in each case. Most fragments of walls, lines of flooring, and devastated architectural details can still be traced. The state of the wall structure varies depending on the material used—cut stone, aggregate or dried brick, and the binding agents limestone—and clay mortars.

Our available capacity limited us to a study of only three of the several discovered structures. Conscious of various constraints[4], hoping that research on these as well as other structures will enrich our knowledge, we undertook to work out a preliminary conceptual approach to their restoration. The main idea came down to individual

(3) A. Wasowicz, *Zagospodarowanie przestrzenne antycznych miast greckich* (Territorial planning of ancient Greek cities), Wrocaw 1982, p. 199.

(4) Most of the structures were only partially uncovered. Their immediate surroundings were unknown to us. Also we did not have access to the documentation of research conducted previously by Egyptian archaeologists.

treatment of each archeological object, firstly preservation of the substance, and for future exhibition purposes, we allowed for the possibility of limited scope reconstruction of fragments of buildings.

We have selected the following finds : an underground cistern, a residential house, and a monumental tomb. This choice was made because of their relatively good state of preservation, most advanced archeological work, as well as the different functions and architectural forms of these structures.

THE UNDERGROUND CISTERN

The cistern, situated in the south-eastern part of the ancient site, consists of a reservoir cut out in rock and neck partly cut out, and enclosed from the top. The neck forms the cistern entrance.

The cistern is covered with a deep layer of silt, and the rocky roof, which is broken because of tectonic movements, supported by four extant stone pillars, prevents any further safe exploration. The main problem for conservation in this case was to find a way for consolidating the rocky structure, as to enable the termination of research work and to make the site accessible for viewers.

Special reinforced ferro-concrete suspensions were designed to strengthen the cistern roof. Broken fragments can be attached to this grid. The whole construction would be hidden under an earth mound, such as the one on the roofing of the cistern. We have foreseen the reinstallation of several sections of the neck vaulting, reinforcing the pillars with braces, and filling up gaps with concrete. Such a well stabilised structure will make possible safe future research.

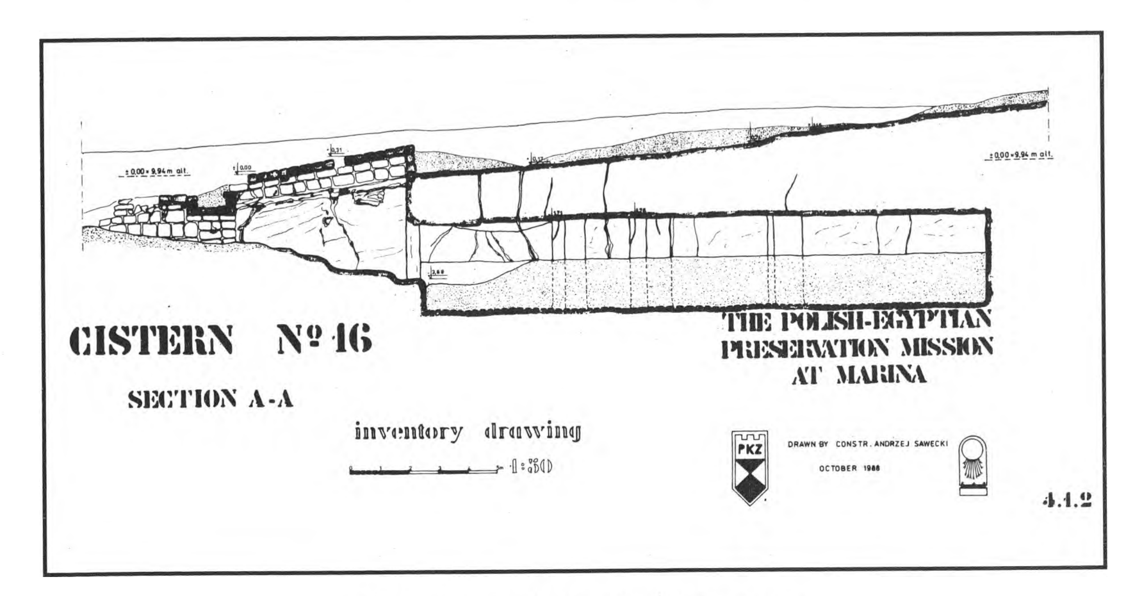


Fig. 2- Longitudinal profile of the cistern.

DWELLING HOUSE N° 9

The house marked number 9 is one of several houses uncoverd so far. It is located in the central. Its walls were preserved to the height of 2 meters. The house is not yet fully uncovered although part of the ancient site. It is a structure with a projection similar to a rectangle 40 by 24 meters. The house is not yet fully ancovered although its main premises have already been cleared of earth by Egyptian archaeologists. Our study concerned a complex of 14 rooms and halls grouped around a central courtyard.

The entrance to the building is from the western side. Four stone steps lead to a door to a vestibule (premise n° 1). On its southern side is a latrine (premise n° 2) provided with a canal to a sedimentation tank located behind the outer wall of the house. On the northern side of the vestibule is a storage room (n° 3), where many amphoras embedded in sand were found. The next object (n° 4) is a kind of corridor leading to the courtyard (n° 5). The central part of the courtyard was probably not covered by a roof.

It was surrounded on two sides by a portico, on the third side the passage under the roof was encased by two pilasters, on the northern side next to the courtyard there

are three medium-sized rooms (n° 6,7,8). In one of them (n° 6) fragments of a ceramic vessel being part of the chimney system were found.

On the south the yard is flanked by a large hall accessible by an opening with traces of a rocking door (n° 9). In the next, probably a service room (n° 10), many amphoras were uncovered, placed in the spandrels of the vaulting of tow medium-sized cellars, accessible through a manhole closed with a stone slab. Next to premise n° 9 ia a double-track stairway(n° 11) with its lowest two steps preserved. Next to it is a room (n° 12) situated in the south-eastern corner of the house. Facing west, one can enter premise N° 13 from the courtyard, while turning east through two openings one can enter the largest room of the house (n° 14). One of those openings traces of a wooden door frame were preserved, while the other has remnants of a wooden partitioning. The last premise is a longitudinal room accessible from the previous one (n° 15).

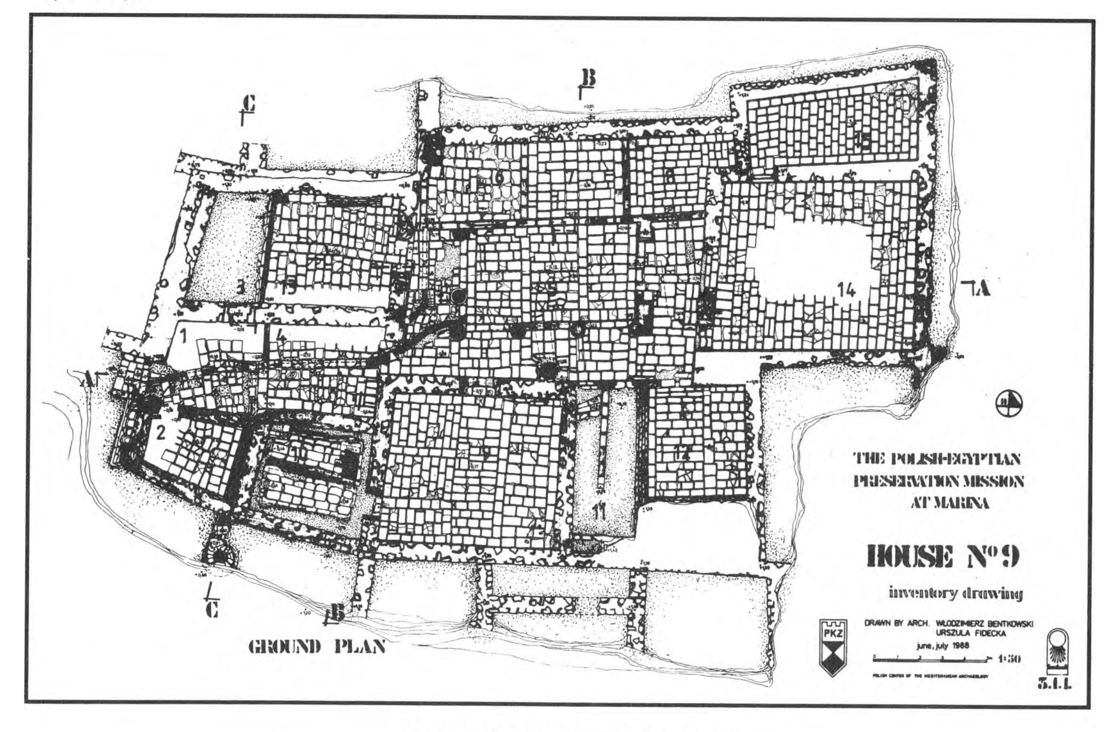


Fig. 3- House N° 9. The plan.

The house was provided with a cistern located under the yard. Rain water flew directly from the roof to the cistern. Water from the courtyard served for flushing the latrine or was directed to the container-bench near the entrance.

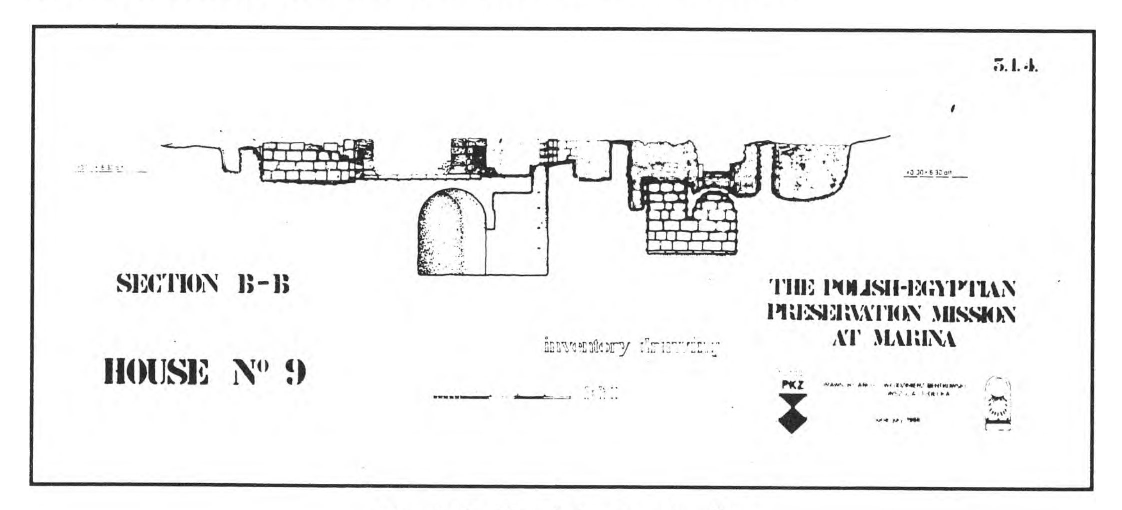


Fig. 4- Profile of cistern and cellars.

In the course of exploring the object many architectural details were found. These are drums of a column, capitals, fragments of the tympanun, cornices and of a frieze with triglyphs and metipes. The most interesting details were remnants of an edicula flat niche closed by a conche and tympanun, and framed by two small columns

The building was covered with plaster. Some of the plaster work was decorated with polychrome panels. Similar colours of the polychromy (lapis lazuli, pompeïan red, saffron), were found on the gypsum stucco work on the courtyard columns as well as on the stucco work on the remnants of the edicula. Water-resistant plaster lined the cistern, the latrine channel and furrows of the gutter.

The above described house is of a complex origin. Its main elements : the vestibule, the corridor open towards the court, the main room preceded by a pilastered vestibule or the grouping together of domestic lodgings by the entrance-point at its Greek heritage. A structure of this kind is similar to the houses discovered in *i.a. Priene*[5]. There are also elements found in Roman Villas. The entrance complex consists of two clearly divided premises—the *vestibulum* and the fauces. The

(5) R. L. Scranton *Greek Architecture,* London 1968, p. 43.

connection between premise 14 and the court reminds of a similar way of combining the *tablinum* with the *atrium* as found in the House with the Wooden partitioning in Herkulanum. Framing polychromies appeared in Roman Empire lands at the end of the 2[nd] and in the 3[rd] century AD. The edicula could serve as *lararium* (as in the Villa with Red Walls, Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii), or the niche encompassed by it served as a place where sculptures could be placed. All these elements point to Roman influence on the traditional Greek structure of the house.

Besides drawing up a detailed catalogue, our aim was to specify the required reconstruction work. In case of house n°9 we decided to limit such work as much as possible. Here we dealt with a partly uncovered structure. Its shape could not be fully reclaimed, but some of the discovered elements had to be protected and made more visible. Thus we have planned such conservation work as to enable a future clear and proper exposition of the structure. Besides strengthening the walls in several places and making the opening more visible, we proposed reconstruction of one entire column of the portico as well as reconstruction of the edicula and placing it inside the wall of premise n° 14. The whole idea is best presented at the adjoining picture.

A GRAVE MONUMENT T-I

The monument, discovered by Polish archaeologists working under Professor W. Daszewski, is situated in the south-western corners of the excavation site. This is the area of the necropolis, the research on which is still at a very early stage.

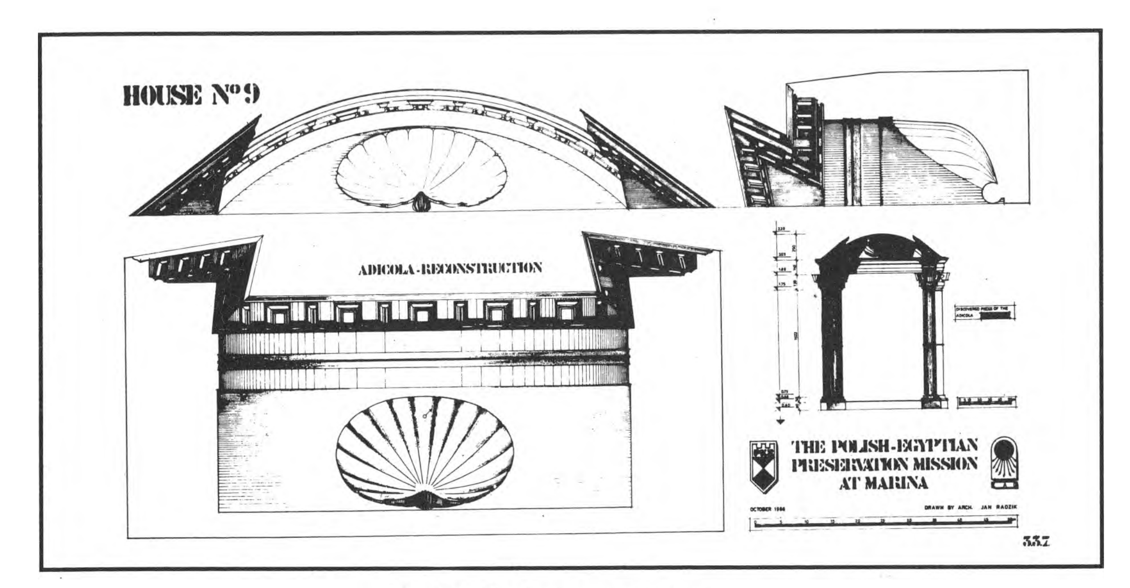


Fig. 5- Edicula-reconstruction.

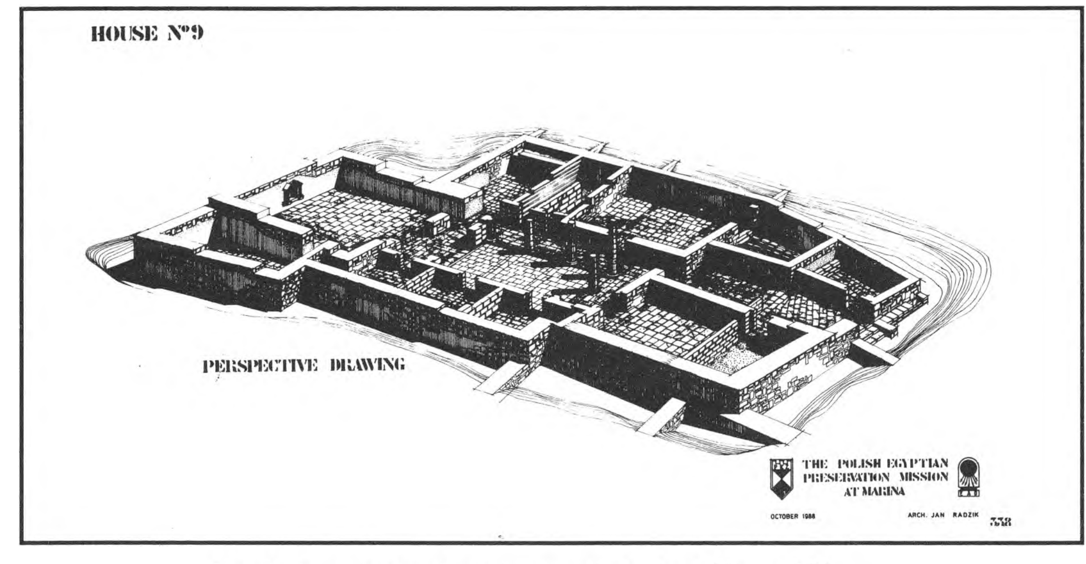


Fig. 6- A suggestion for reconstructing ruins of house N°9.

The structure consists of a basis (consisting of two *loculi*) as well as of a column with a base and capital. Some 80% of the whole structure is preserved largely undamaged. The scattered ashlars of the column were discovered on the south eastern side of the base, and only the element topping the monument was not found. The *loculi* had many burials inside, and their furnishing and form at the monument allowed the archaeologists for placing the object at the turn of the 1[st] and 2[nd] centuries AD.

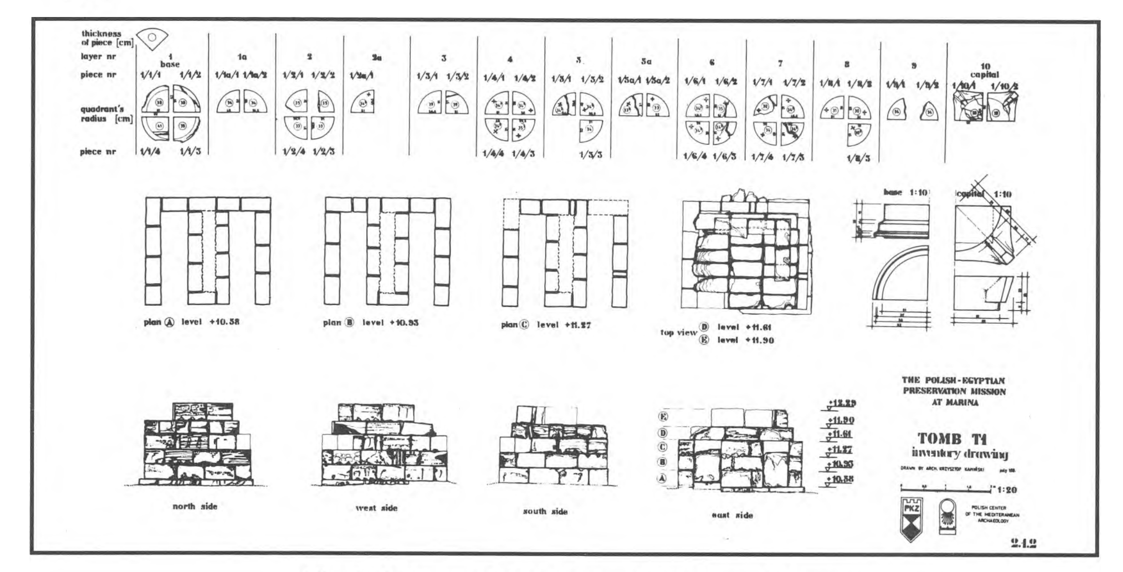


Fig. 7- Monument T- I listing of discovered elements.

The possibility of re-establishing the shape of the monument sealed the decision to go ahead with full reconstruction.

The three historical objects described above are only a small part of the already discovered ones. All of them require urgent reconstruction work.

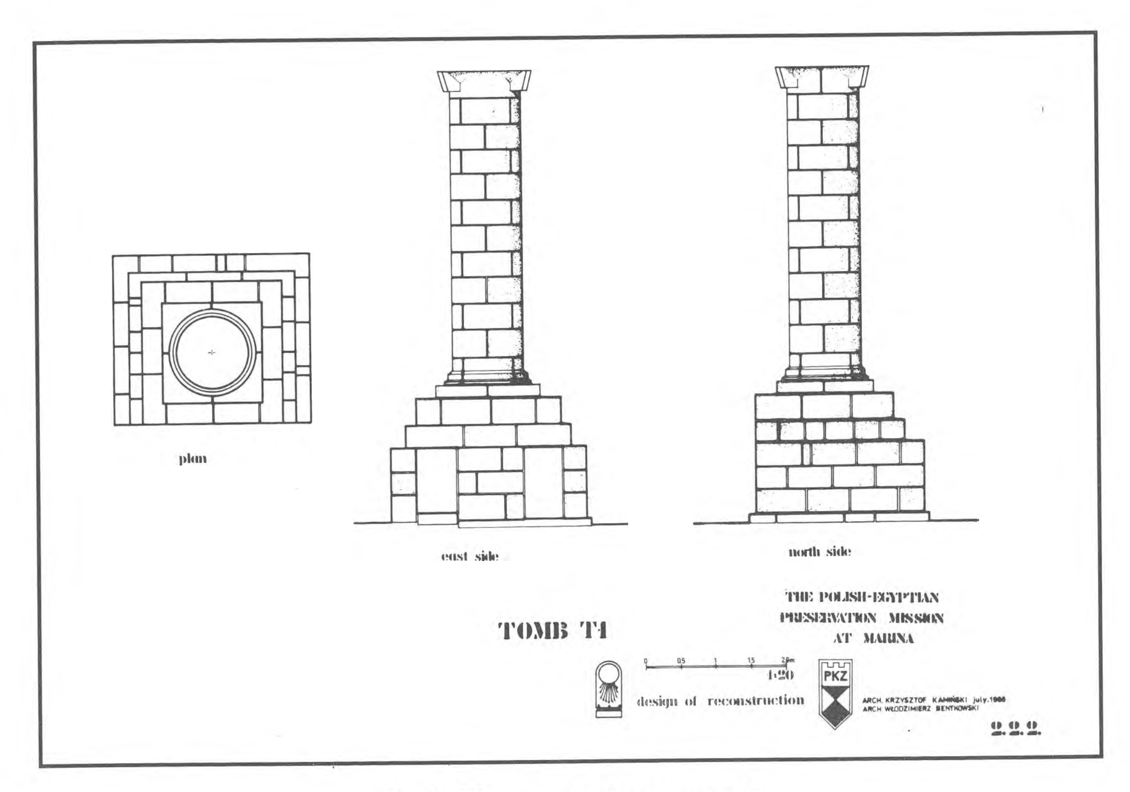
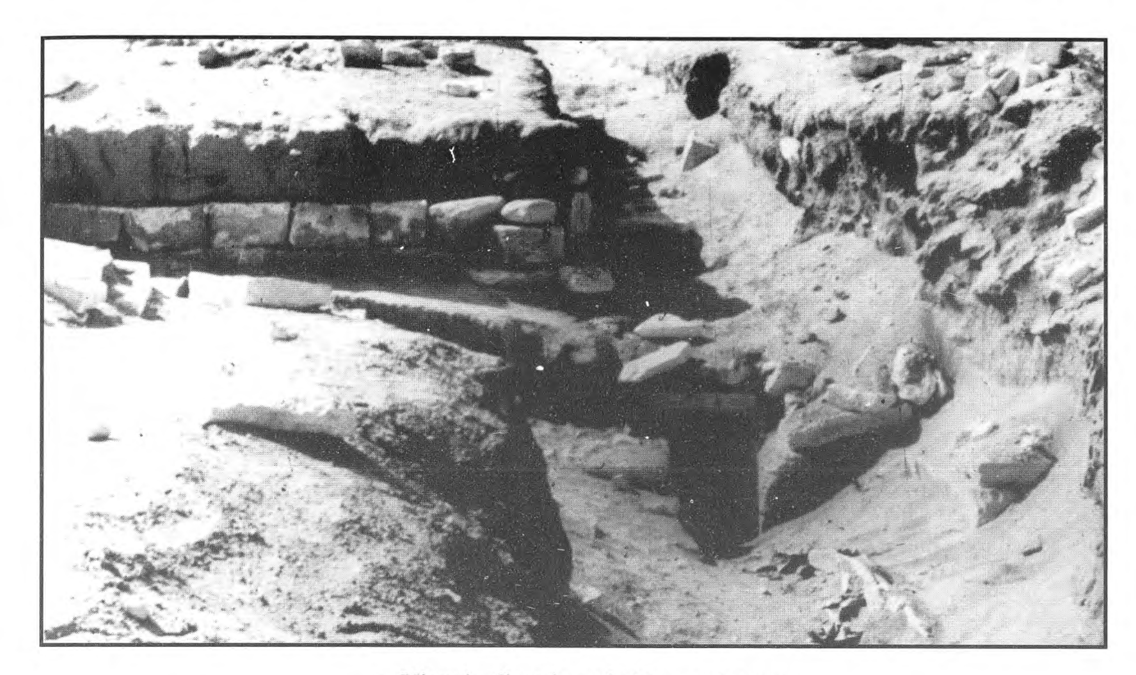


Fig. 8- Monument T-I reconstruction.

Leaving them without any protection will lead to their complete erosion in the course of two - three years.

The first season of the PKZ reconstruction effort has unfortunately ended with no more than preparing the documentation. The beginning of real reconstruction works and the specification of remaining structures will take place in the next working season, in 1990.

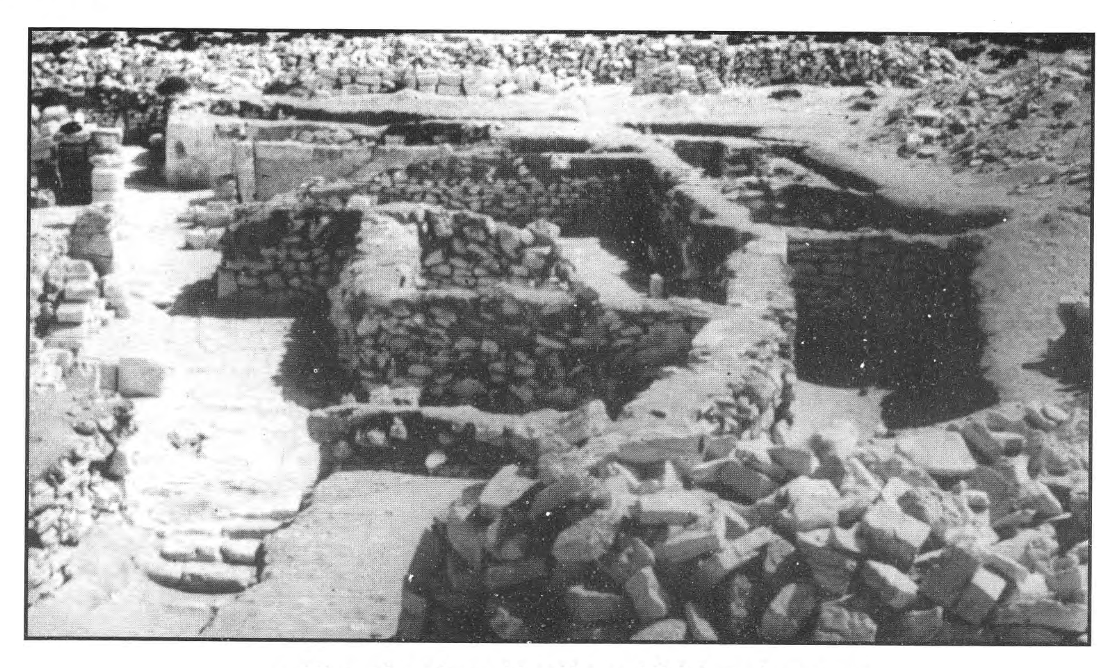


a- View in direction of cistern entrance.

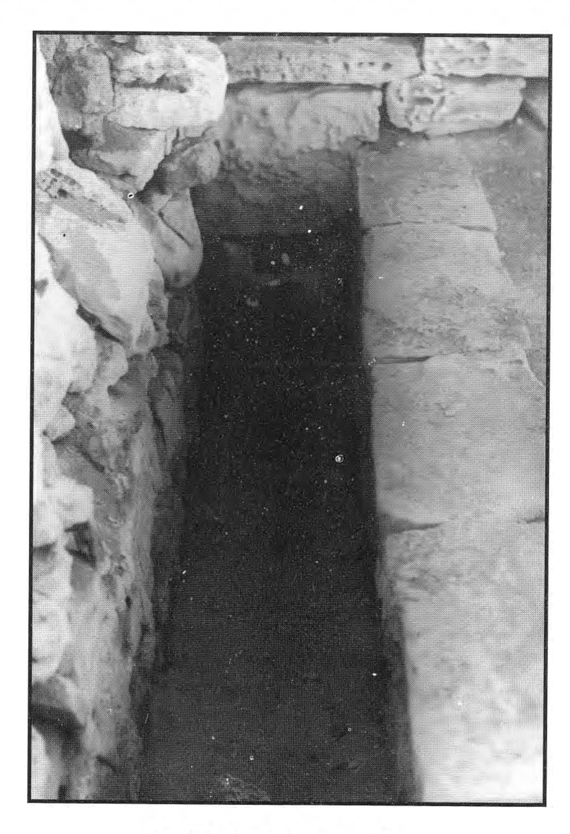


b- View in direction of exit from cistern neck.

Pl. II



a- View of southern side of house N°.9 from the entrance.

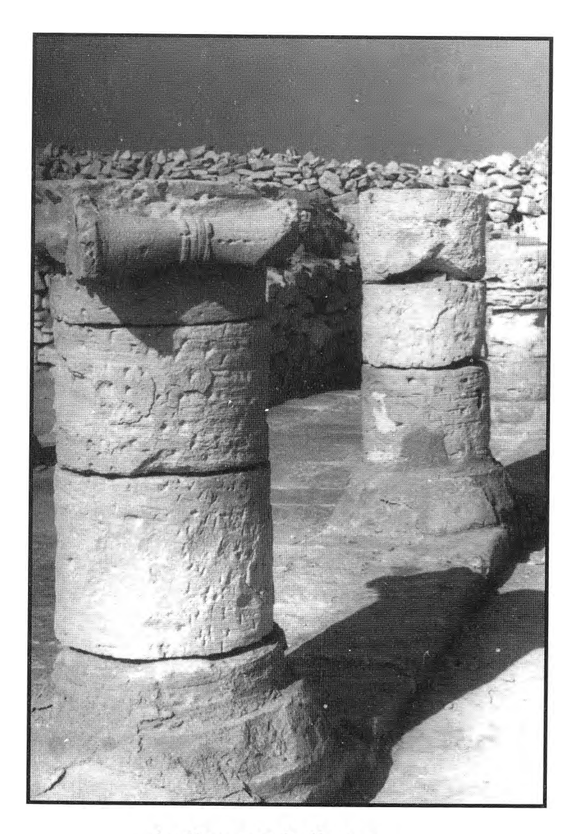


b- The latrine channel.

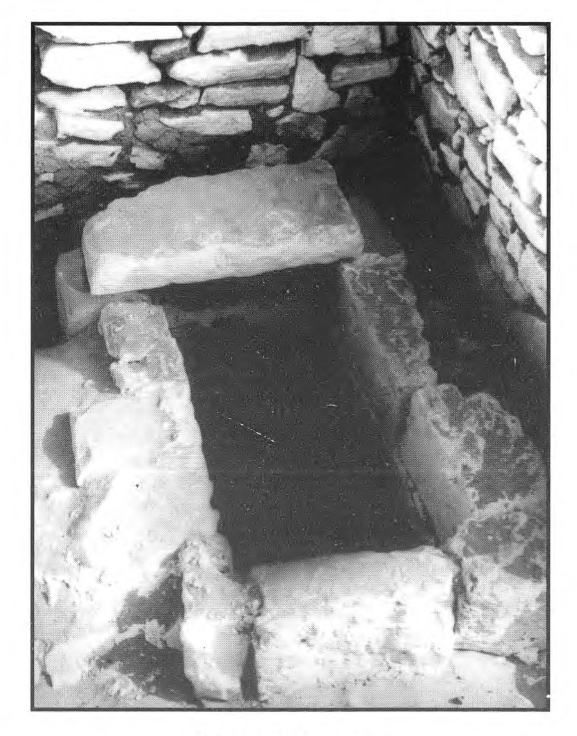
Pl.III



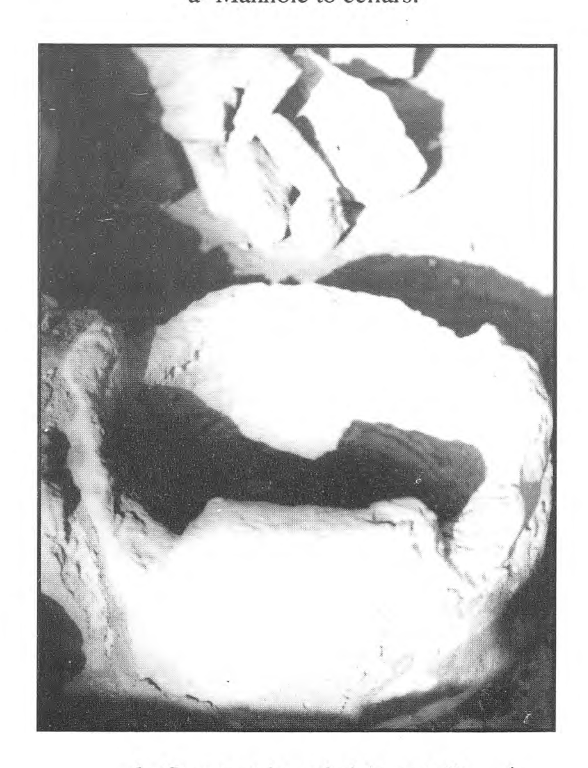
a- View of southern wall, premise N°.3 with blind door.



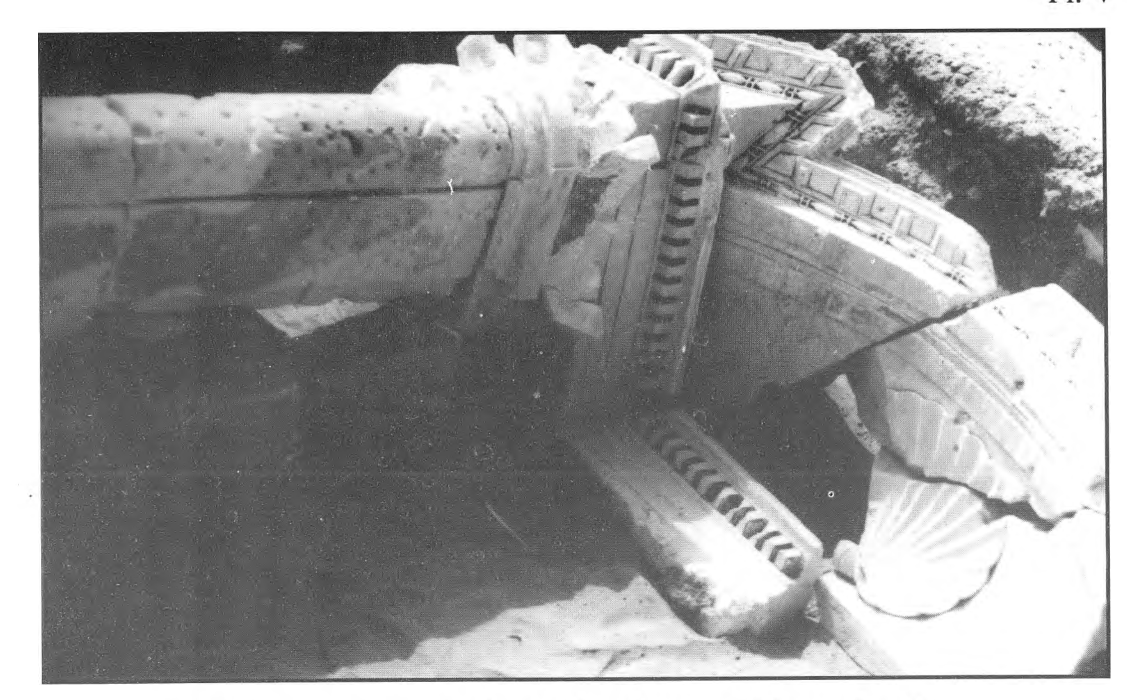
b- Courtyard pilasters.



a- Manhole to cellars.



b- Stone casing of cistern well.



a- Edicula- an attempt at putting together elements which were found.

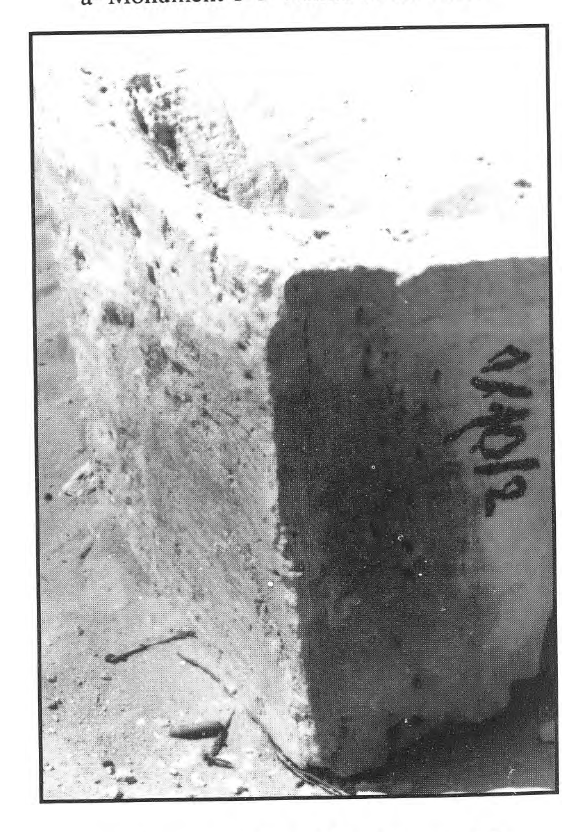


b- Monument T-1- view of the base.

PL.VI



a- Monument T-1- Ashlar of the base.



b- Monument T-1- Ashlar of the capital.

RESEARCH PROSPECTS IN THE EASTERN DESERT

Maria CASINI

The presence of nomadic and semi-nomadic population in the Eastern Desert in Egypt is most evidently shown by the relative abundance of rock drawings "all over the Eastern Desert" according to winkler who discerned in the rock drawings four different peoples, closely linked to the inhabitants of the Nile Valley.

The differentiation of the groups by winkler was based on boat shape among which that of "*the Eastern invaders, a foreign population in contact with the Mesopotamian area*". Even if some doubt remains regarding these theories, and despite the problematic questions of the origin and activity of these groups, which have left evidence in the Egyptian Eastern Desert, it must be true that this area must have been able to sustain a great number of populations which crossed the desert, following various routes from North to South, from Sinai to the Red Sea and the Nile Valley.

Rock drawings have been found predominantly, between Qena and Qoseir along Wadi Hammamat, the shortest route between the Nile and the Red Sea. In this area, composed of a system of spring-rich wadis, F. Debono localized a series of villages of various periods, which he dated from Badarian to Protodynastic times, scattered graves and "ateliers" characterized by the presence of lithic industries, slate palettes, ornamental objects, shells, stone vases. These finds suggested to him a possible connection with the villages of El-Omari located near the mouth of Wadi Hof.

Despite the researches carried on until now in the Eastern Desert, we have no precise indication regarding the nature of the interrealationships between these desert populations and those of the Nile Valley. In fact there are no evidence from stratified sites to determine the continuity of settlements and the social organization of the people who lived in this desert.

Nowadays, the area is occupied by an ethnic group, the Bedja Ababdeh, who, according to Murray, have lived there since the prehistorical times. From evidence collected by travellers and archaeologists interested in rock drawings, we may advance the hypothesis that these people had different activities and a different social organization than those who were living along the Nile, to which they were, however,

linked by networks of reciprocal exchanges, by trading partnerships and even by ritual ceremonies. Thousands of imported shellbeads, many of them coming from the Red Sea, found in predynastic graves represent but one aspect of the exchange network that has been preserved for us (Hoffmann).

As depicted in the rock drawings, the inhabitants of the Eastern Desert who travelled between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea, appear to have been shepherds and hunters. They came in contact with the first Prehistoric communities they encountered at the mouth of the main wadis which they followed. It is easy to suggest that they were attracted by such communities which presented a more organized and stratified society and, above all richer. This situation was also linked to sociopolitical development and was associated with the emergence of social differentiation were clearly shown in the Delta group and in the group of Northern sites, near Cairo.

Beside the El-Omari villages, where luxury goods have been found in the graves, another site in which we may suggest these populations had commercial contacts may have been the site of Maadi. We found there vases of various kinds of stone, copper objects, rhomboid slate palettes, and shelles. This site is a very good example of a settlement in which luxury goods were found stored on hut floors, probably used for trade and exchange. There is overwhelming evidence that the site had active and close contacts with Syria and Palestine and that it may have provided accomodations for "merchants" from there. Perhaps this nomadic population, which circulated in the Desert, had become middlemen in an exchange system that linked various economies of the ancient Middle East in a vast superexchange network moving around symbologically prestigious exotic goods increasingly in demand by the emergent social and political elite...

The situation of Maadi is the following : it is probable that the wealth of the settlement attracted the trading activity of the nomadic populations of the Eastern Desert who moved between the Nile Valley, the Delta and Sinai, a kind of exchange certainly not direct but coming by means of groups of adjacent peoples. The Eastern Desert, rich with rocks like basalt, diorite, serpentine, alabaster and copper, provided them with the possibility of exchanging these primary materials for secondary products made by specialized workers who transformed it into luxury goods.

With the unification of Egypt and the emergence of centralized state organization, trade was probably controlled and quarries and mines exploited by the central power. As a result, the nomadic peoples were cut-off from the Nile Valley.
On the basis of the evidence actually at disposal, it would be of great interest to carry on researches in the area between the Wadi Hammamat and the Wadi Ababda, where the scattered populations of Bedja Ababda survive to this day, in order to reconstruct the "habitat" situations in different periods from Prehistory to present day, to find the travel routes of these peoples and the documents related to the nature of their relationships with the populations of the Nile Valley.

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THE BASALT SARCOPHAGUS OF *P3 - IRY - K3P*

Caterina COZZOLINO

The sarcophagus that I am going to describe is one of the objects of the Borgia Collection. It is a fragment of the sarcophagus of *Pꜣ-iry-kꜣp* which has an eventful history: Niehbur made a drawing of it which he included in his report on his voyage in Egypt and Arabia[1]; the Cardinal Stefano Borgia saw the drawing and sent for it. Nowadays , most of this sarcophagus is kept at the British Museum[2], while a fragment is at the Ashmolean Museum[3] and nother one was seen in the Kikhya Mosque, near Abdin street in Cairo[4].

The part we are dealing with is an angular fragment including part of the left long side (where the feet are), a little part of the bottom is also preserved. It is decorated with scenes and texts from the Am-duat[5] and the Book of the Gates[6]. The general scheme of the decoration is characteristic of stone sarcophagi from the 26th to the 30th Dynasty.

The upper frieze is constituted by the alternation of zoomorfic Anubis and *ḫkrw*-signs. Under the frieze runs a horizontal line of hieroglyphs with chapter 56 of the Book of the Dead. The decoration of the base is constituted by a "palace facade" frieze. The central register of the short side is divided into two parts, each with a scene from the Book of the Gates. In the upper part, we have the scarabs *ḫpri* superimposed on the sun-disk, surrounded by a snake, with *ḥkꜣ* on his left and the god Sia on his right. In the lower part, If-ra is shown between two kneeling deities ; on both sides runs five columns of hieroglyphs bearing the name and titles of the owner.

The central register of the long side is also divided in two parts ; the upper part contains a sector of the Book of Am-duat (sixteen columns of hieroglyphs). Under

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(1) C. Niehbur, *Voyages en Egypte et en Arabie*, I-II, Utrecht 1776.

(2) W. Budge, A *Guide to the Egyptian Collection in the British Museum*, London 1909, p. 240.

(3) S. Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum and Other Sources.*

(4) E. Hornung, *Das Amduat. Die Schrift des Verborgenen Raumes, Äg. Abh. 7*, Geneve 1979 - 1980.

(5) E. Hornung, *Das Buch Von den Pforten des Jenseits , Äeg. Helv.* 7/8, 1978-1979.

(6) W. Budge, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, London 1951.

the inscription, a scene from the same book shows (from the left) two standing male figures with raised arms both arms both preceded by staffs, the first *wśr*-headed, the second ram-headed, representing Ra. On their right, ram-headed Khnum (turned left) is standing with his arms toward the cosmic egg. On his back a Nile genius, Nari, is shown pulling a rope. The inside is decorated on the short side, with the usual alternation of *djed* and *tit* while the long side depicts the four sons of Horus and a winged deity.

The sarcophagus should be dated to the XXXth Dynasty ; the iconography is typical of this dynasty as well as the name of the father, *Nḫt-ḥr-ḥb* and the name of the owner itself, *P3-ỉry-k3p*, which are found from the 26 th to the 30th Dynasty.

The problem I would like to pose is this : why was such a choice of the texts made ? The piece carries part of the Book of the Dead, only the first sections of the Book of the Gates and of the Book of the Am-duat.

AKHENATEN'S USE OF BOUND FOREIGN PRISONERS IN CHARIOT SCENES : A COMMEMORATION OF SPECIFIC EVENTS OR THE KING VICTORIOUS ?

Earl L. ERTMAN

A limestone block from Pendlebury's Excavation at Tell el-Amarna, which includes a bound prisoner, is now in the Ashmolean Museum (Pl. I-a)[1]. Evident are the raised and sunk portions of a standard six-spoke chariot wheel. What is notable is that most of the details below the horizontal spokes are caved in sunk relief, while those details above are primorily in raised relief. Several spokes retain a linear banding of fine red-orange lines. The forward portion of the chariot's body (or screen) extends past the outer diameter of the wheel and off the block. The rear contour of the chariot's body is delineated by a rising vertical line from the horizontal spoke toward the decorated end of the bow case. The design on this case appears to be a feather pattern outlined in red-orange on ochre base. Ochre is also the base color of the chariot body. The silghtly widening shape under the chariot body indicates the pole where it is fastened to the body. Paint flecks indicate that the screen, or body, was covered with a spotted design of dark blue dots. The lotus flower topped linchpin is also painted dark blue. To the right of the crossing spokes, the details of the prisoner's feet, arms, and binding cord are delineated by delicate red-orange lines. The three pie-shaped negative areas between the lower spokes and the negative space behind the chariot body and bow case are uncut, retaining the original height of the block's surface. The combination of raised and sunk areas adjacent to each other provides variety and the illusion of three-dimensional shapes.

A petal pattern on the chariot's body starts at the bow case and continues behind the bound figure and on to the right. The petals of this pattern point downward. One is reminded of this same pattern in a fragmentary scene of Akhenaten's daughters from the royal palace placed several feet away in the same gallery in the Ashmolean

(1) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, n° 1927. 4087. I appreciate the assistance of Dr. P. R. S. Moorey and for permission to publish this block.

Museum[2].

The shape that descends behind the spokes and the bound figure is painted light blue. This blue paint appears to be applied over the yellow petal pattern. The most important element in this scene is the bound kneeling African captive, in raised relief, with his hands tied behind him. The addition of the bound southern captive above the chariot spoke would be expected only as the king drove his war chariot, not a hunting chariot, if we can rely on Ramesside examples to prove the rule.

The text of the brief publication of this block in *The City of Akhenaten,* III, p. 12, N° 93, by Pendlebury reads: *"Limestone block showing chariot wheel and captive kneeling on a spoke, 54 cm. Long"*. In this writer's view, the captive does not appear to be kneeling on the spoke, but rather seems to be placed above it on the side of the chariot body. There is a raised area directly behind the bound captive, and the raised shap ascends diagonally out and off the block. Its function is a problem.

Since I do not belive that the prisoner should be thought of as being on the chariot spoke, where then was the prisoner decoration placed ? Mary Littauer has called my attention to the associated materials found with Tutankhamun's chariots, especially the metal serpent found in a box and photographed in place in pl. XII of her publication, *Chariots and Related Equipment from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*[3]. She indicates that the serpent was placed on the inside of the chariot screen at approximately the same location as the duck decoration of Thtmosis IV's chariot. There is a possibly interesting coincidence between the area where your figure (prisoner on the Ashmolean Block) and Tuthmosis IV's duck are placed outside the Chariot screen, and the location of snakes in similar positions inside the screens of our A I (chariot)"[4]. Dr. Robert Ritner has already discussed the connection between this duck decoration and foreigners in his *GM* article on decorated linchpins from the

(2) See among many sources the catalogue of the collection, P. R. S. Moorey, *Ancient Egypt*, Oxford 1970, p. 34, fig. 13 ; C. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt*, London 1961, fig. 115; *id.*, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, New York 1973, p. 39.

(3) Letter from Mary A. Littauer of February 2, 1988. I am greatly indebted to her for her kind assistance.

(4) *Ibid.* and M. A. Littauer and J.H. Crouwell, *Chariots and Related Equipment from the Tomb of*

tombs of Tutankhamun and Amenhotep II[5]. The bound foreign captive on the Ashmolean block undoubtedly had the same function as the duck--to indicate dominance over foreigners and could have been supported as the metal serpent found with Tutankhamun's chariot. The unidentified raised area which ascends diagonally from behind the prisoner, up and out of the scene may well be a strut support used to hold this representation of an African captive in place.

While Tuthmosis IV is depicted attacking foreign enemies from his chariot[6], foreigners are not part of chariot decoration until the reign of Amenhotep III. A reused stele fragment showed back-to-back images of this king in his chariot, alluding to his and Egypt's supremacy over the north and south. This stele is 43 W and was excavated by Petrie at Thebes, 1896 (Cairo Cat. 34026)[7]. It is described by Aldred as the "middle portion of a stele originally from the king's funerary temple but reused in the foundations of Merenptah's funerary temple. The scene shows the king mounted in his war chariot, riding triumphant over Asiatic foes on the left and African enemies on the right."[8]

There may be a correlation between the use and frequency of foreign prisoners as part of chariot decorations from the middle of Dynasty XVIII through Dynasty XX and the events of individual reigns. In the reign of Amenhotep III this subject is rarely found ... probably because Amenhotep's reign was relatively peaceful.

In the later New Kingdom during times of strife, ancient Egyptian kings more often produced large propagandistic images on pylons, indicating might and superiority over foreign enemies. With the exception of the Ashmolean block, prisoners as part of chariot scenes have not as yet been documented from Amarna.

In the reign of Tutankhamun, foreign prisoners are found on areas of royal

Tutankhamun, Tutankhamun's Tomb Series, vol. 8, Oxford 1985, p. 13-14.

(5) R. K. Ritner, *GM* 94, 1986, p. 55, n. 19 and fig. 5.

(6) H. Carter and P. E. Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV*, London 1904, pl. 10 and elsewhere.

(7) C. Aldred, *New Kingdom* Art, pl. 94 and p. 69.

(8) *Ibid.*

chariots as on the gold foil decoration from one of the king's chariots[9] which alludes to the supremacy of this king, and therefore of Egypt over enemies of the north and south, much as the nine bows under the feet of striding or seated representations of kings had done since at least the Middle Kingdom and probably earlier. I had overlooked further use of bound captives and Mary Littauer has pointed out to me that "*bound figures may occur also on other areas of chariot equipment... at least we have found them on two chariots of Tutankhamun. On our 'A I' they were in the form of struts between the main and secondary front railings*"[10]. I was aware of the African and Asiatic prisoners on the yoke ends of one of Tutankhamun's chariots and Mary Littauer reminded me of them[11]. These figures are symbolic and indicate power over northern and southern enemies.

The surface pattern on the outside of King Tutankhamun's state chariot is similar to the remaining surface decoration on the Ashmolean block.

A comparison of the Ashmolean fragment to Tutankhamun's painted box, which shows him vanquishing Egypt's enemies, reveals some similar details[12]. The body of Tutankhamun's chariot has a dot pattern between parallel curved bands, and a noticable blank horizontal band near the base of the chariot body in one of two scenes[13]. The Ashmolean block has a surface dot pattern remaining, although only one band appears to hav been arranged in a circular pattern : (on one side of Tutankhamun's box where he triumphs over northern enemies, the attachment hanging from the axle is probably a streamer of the safety thong used to retain the

(9) Visible in the Cairo Museum display of these chariots. Prisoner representations are also found on gold foil decorations on the body floor supports. Also Littauer and Crouwell, *o.c.*

(10) Letter from Mary A. Littauer of february 2, 1988, and Littauer and Crouwell, *o.c.* pl. XIII.

(11) *Ibid.*, pls. XXIII, XXIV.

(12) N. M. Davies, *Tutankhamun's Painted Box* Oxford 1962, battle scenes only. Numerous other sources for reproductions of this scene as K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt : Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, 4[th] ed. London 1968, color plate XXXIV.

(13) *Ibid.* and *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art, le Musée du Caire*, 1949, pls. 115-6 where the king overcomes Asiatics.

linchpin[14]). The blank band at the base of the chariot screen in one of Tutankhamun's battle scenes is similar to a band in the same location on the Ashmolean block and appears to be behind the prisoner. We can agree that no painted decoration remains on one parallel band on the lower portion of the screen of Tutankhamun's chariot, and that linear banding appears on the spoke and wheel rim in both scenes. But here the affinities stop. To say that the design of the chariot on the Ashmolean block and the scene on Tutankhamun's painted box have obvious similarities is acknowledged. No similar stone commemorative relief scenes showing chariot decoration of Amenhotep III or Tutankhamun have been published, so a comparison is, for the present impossible.

Could this scene on the block under study relate to anyone besides Akhenaten? Since the prisoner shown is male, Nefertiti cannot be the monarch driving this chariot or the prisoner would be a female, as in other scenes where she assumed male prerogatives of head-bashing and dominance over female enemies of Egypt. Tutankhamun should also be ruled out as the person driving the chariot, for there is nothing that links Tutankhamun to decorations in the great sanctuary at Akhet-Aten, the source for the Ashmolean block.

The Ashmolean block is listed as coming from the sanctuary at Akhet-Aten, where the Egyptian Exploration Society has also excavated another block, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum, n° 27.6.1[15]. The Metropolitan block, is much more familiar to us. It is listed on p. 12 of the Pendlebury text, n° 79. On it courtiers wait with chariots in the upper register, and singers and musicians gather in the lower

(14) *Ibid.* This element is clearly distinguished in pl. 116 In the hunting scene on the same side of this box, the plants in the lower opening between the spokes are repeated along with the streamer. This indicates that the artist merely copied a portion of the scene, even though the main subject differs or that a pattern was used.

(15) I wish to thank Dr. Christine Lillyquist of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for permission to publish this block and for providing me with photos and details of it, and also to acknowledge the assistance of Edna Russman, Marsha Hill and Adela Oppenheim of the Egyptian Department. See C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 151 (n° 76).

register. This block is assigned—with a question mark—to the Middle Period according to Aldred. The description is as follows : "*in this familiar scene of waiting chariots, only one entire vehicle, with its attendant groom and spirited span, and the rear of a second are preserved... This is one of the very few complete slabs that survived the efforts of the Ramesside quarriers to remove the masonry of Tell-El-Amarna and reuse it elsewhere, especially at Hermopolis*"[16].

The Metropolitan block is attributed to the Middlle period of Akhenaten by Aldred, and this attribution fits well with the probable date of the Ashmolean block, for they share many similarities besides the find spot. On viewing the chariot wheel of the Mertopolitan block (see detail, Pl. I-b), the rim and three spokes above the horizontal are in raised relief. The negative space, between the four spokes from the 1 to 9 o'clock positions is not worked ; *i.e.*, the level of the surface of the block is uncut, similar to the Ashmolean example. Further, each chariot wheel is held to its axle by a delineated linchpin. This last detail in itself is quite rare prior to the Ramesside chariot decorations Dr. Ritner has indicated that "*the use of linchpins decorated with bound captives probably appeared at least as early the reign of Akhenaten, for such a pin seems to be represented on a block from Amarna now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (n° 27.6.1)*"[17]. Mary Littauer, citing the same relief , indicated "*that there is a scarcity of figured documentation for figure-headed pins before the 19th dynasty, but there is one Amarna relief with a pin*[18]. "

The linchpin on the right chariot of the Metropolitan block (Pl. I-b), is unique and most unusual. It appears that a semi-reclining figure retains the weel to the axle .

The figure's head is at 12 o'clock position. By the position of the shoulders, the illusion is that the arms of the bound figure act as the retaining pin for the wheels.

The figure's kness are at the 8 o'clock position with the toes/feet of the figure or

(16) *Ibid.*

(17) R.K, *o.c.*, p. 55.

(18) M.A. Littauer and J.H. Crouwell, "Unrecognized Linch pins from the tombs of Tut'Ankhamun and Amenhotep II : A reply," *GM* 100, 1987, p. 59 and n. 13. My analysis of the details of this block are based solely upon photographs.

the bottom of the retaining pin visible below the axle at the 6 o'clock position. If one reads the curve in the upper torso as breasts, then this decorated pin is female, requiring the owner of the chariot to be Queen Nefertiti. Since this figure is placed in front of the spokes (*i.e.* closer to the viewer), it cannot be thought of as a decoration on the chariot body.

This block (27.6.1) shows one of the earliest representations in relief of Dynasty XVIII of a linchpin[19]. Painters in Dynasty XVIII were far ahead of sculptors in the depiction of actual details. For example, painters depicted the right and left feet of banquet guests long before the sculptors illustrated them. The illustration of linchpins prior to Ramesside chariot decoration remains quite rare.

The find spot in the sanctuary, the similarities of raised and sunk relief carving of portions of the chariot wheel, plus the depiction of a linchpin, unite the Metropolitan and Ashmolean blocks, and clearly place the Ashmolean block within the reign of Akhenaten. A traditional role of Egyptian rulers was illustrated by the king as an embodiment of the country, conquering all foes. It is understood that commemorative scenes may allude to specific events, while others merely illustrate the traditional role of the king as victor. With the relief on the Ashmolean block, we must decide which theme is illustrated.

Edwards, in his booklet, *Tutankhamun's Jewelry*, in reference to Cairo Museum Object n° 87847, states "*on this openwork gold buckle Tutankhamun is shown riding in his chariot, ostensibly returning from fighting against the Asiatics and the Nubians. Two captives, one from each enemy, are being driven in front of the chariot, harried by the king's hound. They are bound together by the stems of a papyrus and a lily. It is simply a heraldic device, without foundation in historical fact, for there is no evidence that Tutankhamun took any part in any military exploit. Moreover, as the Asiatics occupied the territory northeast of Egypt, and Nubia lay to the south, it would have been geographically impossible to wage war against both these enemies in a single campaign... In the bow-shaped field at the base of the buckle the same*

(19) An earlier depiction of a linchpin is found on a hunting chariot in a painting from the tomb of Userhet (N° 56), royal scribe of Amenhotep II: Lange and Hirmer, *o.c.*, color plate XX. This scene is on

general idea is represented by somewhat different symbols. In the center is the hieroglyphic sign for "unification"(sema); bound to it by the stems of a papyrus and a lotus flower are a bearded Asiatic and a Nubian captive. Flanking the group, on the right, is the lily of Upper Egypt and, on the left, the papyrus, with two buds, of Lower Egypt. An approximate interpretation of the two scenes would be that Tutankhamun, protected by the goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet and supported by the people of Upper and Lower Egypt, will vanquish all his enemies"[20]. This analysis has been accepted and it is understood that no specific event is indicated.

I believe it has been documented that the art of a period, even the unusual reign of Akhenaten, mirrors and reflects specific events occuring in that period. Therefore it follows that Akhenaten was, or saw himself, as a victor over an enemy of Egypt, and that some specific action prompted the depiction found on the Ashmolean block.

The scene of which the Ashmolean block was a part would presumably have shown Akhenaten in his chariot victorious over Africans. The inclusion of this motif by Akhenaten would infer a campaign against a stronghold or area to which victory was associated. It must be remembered that Egyptian artists included details that were required to clarify the meaning of a scene. They did not include elements in a creative way, as contemporary artists might. The fact that only a single enemy is depicted on the Ashmolean block differs in meaning and intent from the examples of the previous and subsequent reigns where at least one northern and one southern figure are present. When two ethnic types are shown, the meaning relates to domination over the north and south, this is not the case when a single prisoner is shown.

Aldred places the transitional stage to the Middle period between the Early and Late style, thus dating the Middle period to the time between years 8 or 9 and 12 of Akhenaten's reign[21]. The Metropolitan block is provisionally dated to the Middle

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the long hall, left wall.

(20) I.E.S. Edwards, *Tutankhamun's Jewelry*, 1976, p. 11-12.

(21) C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 61-62. This numerical dating is implied by the statements that the Early to Late style changes after year 8, that the transition to the Middle period occurs between

period, with a question mark, and has been shown to be similar to the Ashmolean block in the carving of the chariot wheel and the inclusion of a linchpin. The presence of a linchpin and bound figure on both the Metropolitan and Ashmolean blocks appears to follow Aldred's view of the type of elements observed and recorded in the Middle period as that "fresh vision on traditional subjects"[22].

Since a single bound southern enemy is shown on the Ashmolean block, Alan Schulman has suggested that Akhenaten's Nubian campaign of year 9 may be related to this scene. Year 9 of the Nubian campaign and the span of years 9-12 of the Middle period of Akhenaten's art coincid, and may well refer to the same event.

This chariot fragment is a combination of symbolic and commemorative ideas. It is one puzzle piece that, with time, may be shown to commemorate a specific event of Akhenaten's reign, possibly the Nubian campaign of year 9.

These were my conclusions prior to the identification of a sandstone block from the Aten Temple at Karnak by Ray Johnson, who has indicated that the blok was reused by Horemheb and used again in the Middle Ages for a house foundation in Luxor. It was excavated by the Egyptian Organization of Antiquities in 1958. It is now stacked east of the columned Hall of the Temple of Amun, Luxor. The block is in sunk relief and Tutankhamun's blocks found in the area are in raised relief [23].

Ray Johnson has been kind enough to furnish me with a copy of his line drawing (Fig.1) and photo of the block on which we see a chariot wheel, chariot body, bow case, linchpin, and a bound captive above the horizontal spoke. "*All the carved detail above the horizontal wheel spokes is in raised relief (the body of the chariot being sunk, with interior details per usual, done in raised relief*". Ray has indicated to me that the lower extremities of the prisoner are not visible below the spoke and that

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years 6 and 9, and that the Late style occurs after year 12. Thus years 6-9 are a transition to the Middle period, the years 9-12 are the Middle period, and the years following year 12 are the Late period.

(22) *Ibid.*, p. 52.

(23) Letter from Ray Johnson of June 14, 1988, and subsequent telephone conversations. I am grateful to Ray for calling my attention to this block and for providing me with his photo of it.

there is no damage to his area of the block[24]. We therefore, may conclude that the prisoner decoration is on the chariot's body. Above the head of the prisoner and proceeding to upper right is an unidentified shape, not differing to any large degree from a similar shape on the Ashmolean block, except that this element on the Ashmolean block descends to the prisoner's bound arms and not to his head.

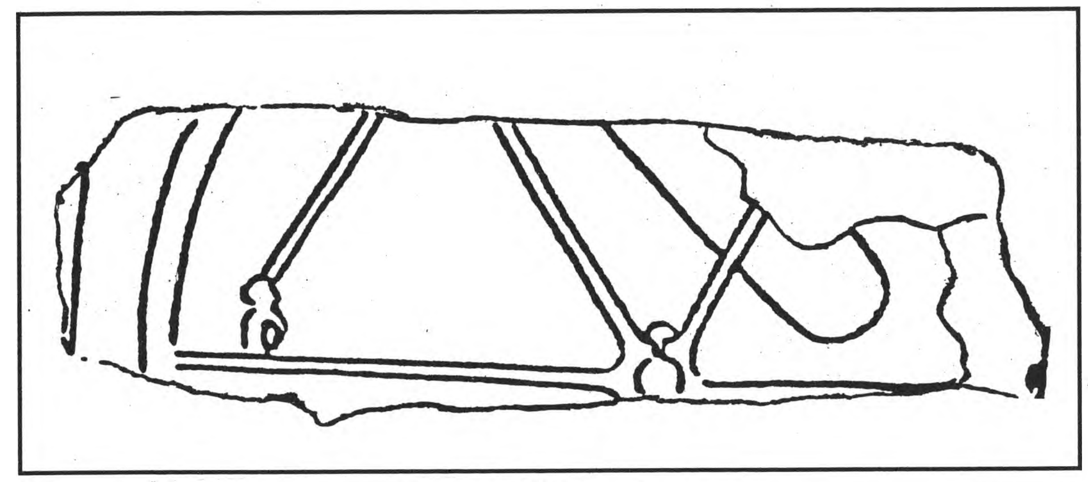
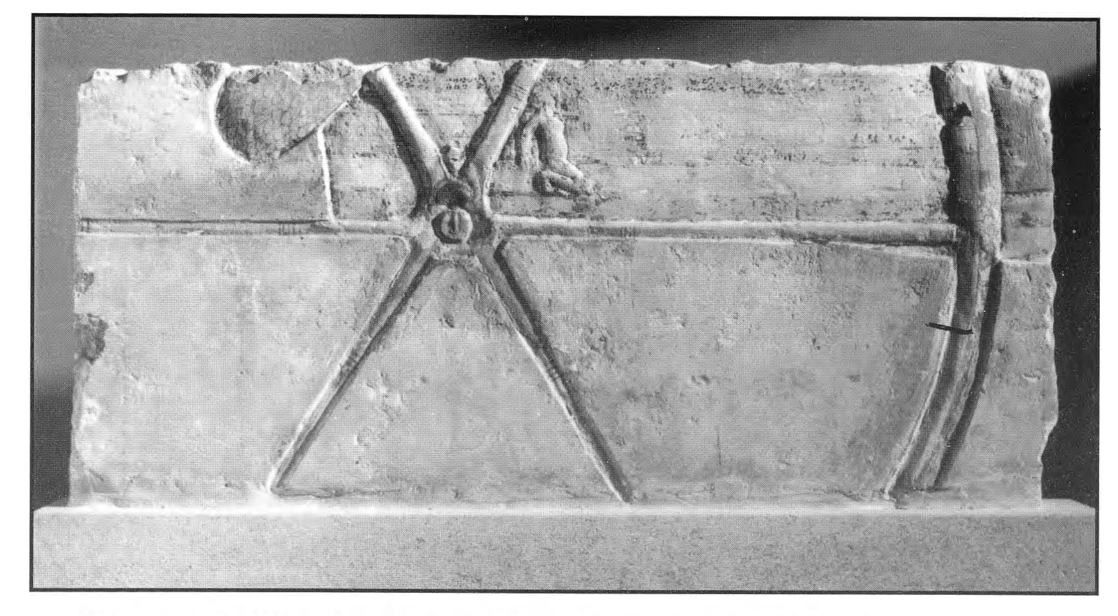


Fig. 1

The sandstone block from the Aten Temple illustrates that a similar motif had been used at Karnak prior to the move to Akhet-Aten. Circumstantial evidence then may indicate that the bound captive on the Ashmolean block could symbolize the ideal-that of the king victorious, rather than the Nubian campaign of the year 9. Time and the publication of the remaining *talatat* will settle this matter.

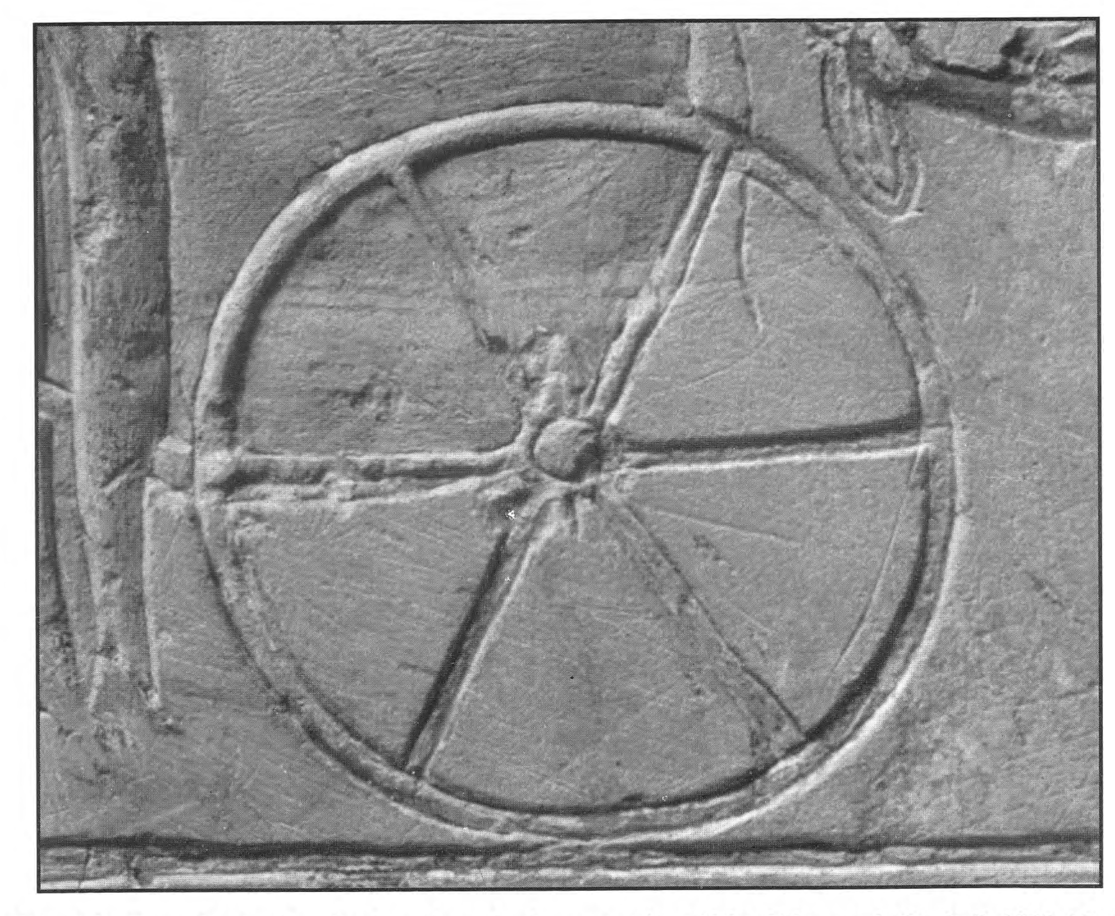
(24) *Ibid.* Telephone conversations with Mr. Johnson.

(25) *Ibid.* (letter of June 14, 1988).



Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Limestone *talatat* block of chariot wheel with bound captive,

PL.II



Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society, through the generosity of Mrs. Fahnestock Cambell, 1927, 27. 6. 1, courtsey of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Fragment of the relief ; Scene of chariots with drivers from the Aten Temple at Tell el Amarna.

AKSHA (SERRA WEST) : THE STELA OF NAKHT

Perla F''SCALDO

In the forecourt of the temple built by Ramesses II at Aksha, the Franco-Argentine Archaeological Expedition in Sudan found in 1961 two parts of a stela, now in the Museum of Natural Sciences in La Plata, reused by the Christians during the building of a church.

The sandstone stela is 0, 29 m wide and 0, 49 m high, with two registers with incised reliefs and inscriptions. It was dedicated by Nakht to the gods "*Amun of Wser-maat-Re Setep-en-Re*", *and* "*Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands*" (see Pl. I).

In the upper part is represented the processional bark (*śšmw ḫw*) of Ramesses II deified as Amun, resting upon a stand. Part of the scene is now destroyed but I could reconstruct it in the drawing of the naos-shrine according to the photography taken *in situ*. The human figure-head of the stern and the prow is crowned by the sun disk with the ram's side-horn. The post to which the steering-oar is attached ends in a falcon-head. The sphinx with the atef-crown is before the naos-shrine. The bark stand is decorated by a caveto cornice. There are two *bht*-fans before and behind the naos-shrine. Two *ḫw*-fans are seen behind the bark stand and also a *wḏḥw*-stand for *nmśt*-jars, another jar for liquids, an incensaire and a *ḫ3wt*-offering table with bread, meat and flowers before the bark. The inscription says: *ḥtp-di-nśw 'Imn wśr-m3ʿ t-Rʿ śtp-n-R* .

The lower part of the stela shows Nakht offering to "*Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands*" as he appears in the *ḥtp-di-nśw* formula to the side of the scene, being the god represented as a *šft*[1]. The priest purifies the offering with incense and making

(1) *I.e.* as a ram's head, as we find it in the inscription on the seventh pylon at Karnak (*Urk.* IV, 183: *šw(y) n ṯr mišf(y)t)*. This is the popular representation of Amun (L. Bell, "Aspects of the cult of the deified Tutankhamun", *Mél. Mokhtar* I, 1985, p. 34 ; W.Spiegelberg, "Der heilige Widderkopf des Amon", ZÄS 62, 1926, p. 23-27).

a libation[2]. Part of the priest's figure is now destroyed. The inscription says : "*made by the wʿb Nakht, blessed*".

This votive stela was dedicated by a wʿb-priest, the priest that carries on his shoulders the processional bark during the festivals. A *wʿb n pḥwy Nḫt* is mentioned in a stela of the Cairo Museum (JE 43549) from Ramesses II's reign[3]. As Nakht is a personal name used very frequently in the Ramesside period, we do not know if he is the same person because of the lack of filiation on both stelae.

Nothing was found in the temple of Aksha of the bark stand represented in the stela. The *šśmw ḥw* of the deified Ramesses in the Nakht stela is the only one figured in a private record[4].

That the temple of Aksha where the stela of Nakht was found was dedicated to the deified Ramesses II is known by the temple's reliefs and inscriptions and by some pieces found in the area outside the temple. At the entrance, on a scene now disappeared but registered by Lepsius[5] the king offers a bouquet of flowers to *wśr-mꜣʿt-Rʿ stp-n-Rʿ*, "the great god, lord of Ta-Sety", being the god represented with the *nms* under the *ꜣtf*-crown and holding in his hands the *wꜣś*-sceptre and the *ʿnḫ*. Hay, during his visit to the temple of Aksha in 1827, made a sketch of the upper part of this scene and copied the adjoint inscriptions, noting that the god "has Horus lock or may be a horn"[6]. This detail is not registered by Lepsius.

A scene similar to that one mentioned before is represented on the right part of the

(2) Episode Nr. 14 of the daily ritual. Nelson, "Certain reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the ritual of Amenophis I", *JNES* 8, 1949, p. 212-213.

(3) G. Legrain, "Un miracle d'Ahmès Ier à Abydos sous le règne de Ramsès II", *ASAE* 16, 1917, p. 161 ff. and pl. I.

(4) Representations of processional barks on stelae are relatively rare. See : Schulman, "A Memphite stela, the bark of Ptah and some iconographic comments", *BES* 2, 1980, p. 83-109, especially the bibliography in note 33. For the processional bark of the king Ramesses II in the Ramesseum and Medinet-Habu : Nelson, "The identity of Amon-Re of United-with-Eternity", *JNES* 1, 1942, p. 127 ff.

(5) *LD* III, 191 n.

(6) The British Museum MS 29841, Nr. 108. Courtesy of the British Museum Library.

big lintel found by the Franco-Argentine Expedition in front of the temple and now in the Museum of Khartum[7]. Here "*Wser-maat-Re Setep-en-Re,* the great god, lord of Ta-Sety" is sitting on the throne and receives the offering presented by the king Ramesses II. In the inscriptions of the right jamb of the rear door of the forecourt it is said that the temple was built "for his living image on earth"[8]. And in the inscription accompanying the central relief, Amun, who receives the offering made by the king, says that he is "in the house of *Wser-maat-Re,* [the great god, lord of *Ta-*]*Sety*[9]. "

In all the very few reliefs and inscriptions preserved from the temple of Aksha, Ramesses II as a god appears with his own identity using the atef-crown with no connection with another god, with the only exception of the relief at the entrance where we can find an identification with Amun by the ram's side horn, if the reference given by Hay is correct.

The cult of Ramesses II as a god between the Egyptians in Aksha is known only by two stelae : the stela of Nakht and the stela of Wpwawt[10], flabellum-bearer and standard-bearer of the god. This stela was dedicated to "*Amun of Wser-maat-Re Setep-en-Re*", represented by a human figured god crowned by the sundisk with the ram's side horn, as we see him in the aegis of the processional bark in the Nakht stela, and to "*Ramesses-mery-Amun*" as a falcon-headed human god with the sun over the head. The Nakht and the Wpwawt stelae are the only ones to my knowledge where Ramesses II is invocated as "*Amun of Wser-maat-Re Setep-en-Re*", represented in human figure and with the ram's side horn.

The cult of the deified Ramesses is known by the inscriptions and reliefs in the temples built during his government and by the stelae dedicated by the officials and commoners in Egypt and in Nubia. The deification of Ramesses II in Nubia is seen in the temples of Es-Sebua, Ed-Derr, Gerf-Hussein, Amarah and Abu Simbel, besides the

(7) Rosenvasser, "The stela Aksha 505 and the cult of Ramesses II as a god in the army", *RIHAO* 1, 1972, p. 107 and fig. 2; part of the lintel in J. Vercoutter, "Preliminary report of the excavation at Aksha by the Franco-Argentine Archaeological Expedition, 1962-1963", *Kush* 12, 1964, fig. 1.

(8) *Aksha (Serra West): El templo de Ramsès II. I.*- Fuscaldo, " La lista topogràfica del atrio", in *RIHAO 7-8*, 1984-1986, plate VIa and fig. IIa, and photography of the Expedition.

(9) *Ibid.*

one of Aksha. Neither the inscriptions and reliefs in the temples nor the stelae give more references on the cult of the god than the name and the representation of the deified king.

The deified Ramesses with a human figure with the ram's side horn, as we can see him in the Aksha stelae, does not appear in the Nubian temples except in Abu Simbel. In the great temple[11] he is called *Ramesses-mery-Amun* and in the small one[12] "*Wser-Maat-Re Setep-en-Re*". It means that his assimilation to Amun is shown in his figure but not in his name. Only in two instances we see it in his name: in Abu Simbel[13] as "*Amun of Wser-maat-Re Setep-en-Re*" and in Es-Sebua[14] , besides his processional bark , as "*Amun* of *Ramesses-mery-Amun*", but in both cases he is ram-headed.

Although there are no more preserved reliefs and inscriptions from Aksha on the deification of Ramesses II than those mentioned above, it is possible that he was worshipped there also as a falcon-headed god. This hypothesis is based on the representation of *Ramesses-mery-Amun* as a falcon-headed god in the stela of Wpwawt and in that of Huy at Abu Simbel and on the assimilation of Ramesses II to Re-Harakhte in the Nubian temples.

Having started with Amenophis III, the deification of the living king was largely developed by Ramesses II in Egypt and in Nubia. Two questions can be raised. 1st: does the assimilation of the deified king to Re-Harakhte begin with Ramesses II ; 2nd : is there any relation between the deified Ramesses as Amun and Amun of Kawa, that is the special form of the worship of Amun at Kawa.

According to the reliefs and inscriptions from Luxor and Soleb, Amenophis III was not assimilated to Re-Horakhte. But in the temple that he built at Es-Sebua and where he was worshipped as a god, the figure of the sun-god was erased and replaced

(10) Rosenvasser, *o.c.*, *RIHAO* 1, p. 99 ff.

(11) *LD* V, *Text*, V, p. 146 ; 160.

(12) I. Rosellini, *Monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia*, III, 1844 (1977), plate V 2.

(13) Room V = Room N of Lepsius. *LD* III, 191, 1.

(14) *LD* III, 180 b; H. Gauthier, *Le temple de Ouadi es-Seboua*, 1912, II, pl. LX A.

by Amun as a *šfyt* [15]. We may presume that in Es-Sebua the deified Amenophis III was for the first time assimilated to Re-Harakhte, but later on he was substituted by the form assimilated to Amun, as we can see it in Soleb and in Luxor. When Ramesses II was deified, he took again the form of the sun-god and he largely developed it in the Nubian temples, form which we also find in the private stelae, besides his form of Amun.

Amun of Kawa is represented like a criosphinx with the side horn[16] or like a ramheaded human god with the side horn and crowned by the sundisk[17]. The iconography of this god is similar to the deified Ramesses as Amun, which differs from Amun, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, a human-headed god crowned with two long feathers and the sundisk between them. It seems to me that this local form of Amun was developed from that of the deified Amenophis in his syncretic form with Amun, as we see it in the documents from the time of Amenophis III and was later adopted by Ramesses II.

The deification of Ramesses in Egypt and in Nubia, as it is shown by the documents mentioned above, answered to political reasons[18], being an act of absolutism and of political domination[19].

The deification of Amenophis III and the development of the cult of the royal ka in the Luxor temple[20] were the new manifestations of the royal ideology at the height

(15) C.Firth, *ASN. Report for 1910-1911*, 1912, plate 34 and p. 236-237; F. Daumas, "Ce que l'on peut entrevoir de l'histoire de Ouadi es Seboua en Nubie", *CHE* 10 p. 29. There was a local cult to Horus, possibly to Horus of Baki.

(16) This is the representation of the deified Tutankhamun at Kawa. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa.* II : *History and Archaeology of the site*, 1955, pl. IV ; L. Bell, in *Mél. Mokhtar* I, p. 31-59.

(17) Like in the stelae of Taharqa and Anlamani (Nr. III, 0790 ; IV, 0462 ; V, 0498 ; VII, 0367 and VIII, 0499). Macadam, *o.c.*, I., *The inscriptions*, 1949, pl. 5-6, 9-10, 13-14 and 15-16.

(18) D. de Rodrigo de Rodrigo, "Aspectos politicos de la deificacion de Ramses II en Aksha", in RIHAO 9, 1988.

(19) On the Egyptian art as propaganda, see : Kelly K. Simpson, "The Egyptian sculpture and the bi-dimentional representation as propaganda", *JEA* 68, 1982, p. 266 ff.

(20) L. Bell, " Luxor temple and the cult of the royal ka ", *JNES* 44, 1985, p. 251 ff.

of Egyptian imperialism. Ramesses II followed Amenophis III's example developing in Egypt and in Nubia the cult of the living king in an unprecedent scale and in this way strengthened his own rule in a time and conditions different from those of his predecessor.

The Egyptian commoners addressed to the god Ramesses embodied in his statue, it means, the statue of his ka ; the colossi in front of the temples were permanently appealed by them and the god's statue on the processional bark only during the festivals.

One of the festivals when the god Ramesses was seen was during the Nekheb-kaw feast. In the Papyrus Anastasi III (3,4-3,5)[21] , it is said that "*on the day of the entrance of Wser-maat-Re Setep-en-Re Montw in the Two Lands, on the day of the feast of Nekheb-kaw, every man being like his fellow in uttering his petitions*". This feast or the Feast of Khoiak appears to have been reminiscent of a union, possibly political. It began on I *prt* 1, when the king was invested with the royal attributes[22]. It was considered by the Egyptian in the Ramesside period as the feast of the royal ideology. According to the ostracon Cairo 25533 (recto 10-11)[23] from Ramesses IV's reign, the workmen of Deir el Medina had a holiday on *the "27th day, 3rd month of šmw"* The text says:" ... *day 27, [the gang of workmen] are slack (during the feast of) ll/ Wser-maat-Re Setep-en-Re...*" This is the festival of Ramesses II's accession day[24], it means, a political festival celebrated until the close of the Ramesside period[25]. It seems to me that the Egyptians could have joined in only one festival the accession and the deification day of Ramesses II, on the 27th day of the 3rd month of *šmw*, and have

(21) G, *L-E M*, p. 23; C *L- E M*, p. 74-75.

(22) *Ibid.*, p. 72.

(23) *KRI* VI, 176.

(24) The accession date is not the coronation date. See: D. Redford, "On the chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty", *JNES* 25, 1966, p. 116 ff. and *Id.*, *History and chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt*, 1967, p. 183 ff.

(25) W. Helck, "Feiertage und Arbeitstage in der Ramessidenzeit", *JESHO* 7, 1964, p. 153 and 159; J. Kraus, "Zur historischen Einordung Amenenmesses und zur Chronologie der 19. - 20. Dynastie", *GM* 45, 1981, p. 27 ff.

celebrated it not only in Deir el Medina but in Egypt for as long as the deification of Ramesses II had a significance for them.

With regards to the priesthood of the god Ramesses, besides the wʿb priest Nakht of our stela, we know of Rwdʿ teten, "*first priest (ḥm-nṯr tpy) of Ramesses-mery-Amun*"[26] Akber, "*doorkeeper of the 3rd phyle of Ramesses-mery-Amun, beloved of Montw*"[27], assimilated here to the Theban god of war[28], and Anuya, "*standard-bearer of the lord of the Two Lands of the phyle of Re of the Rulers*"[29], the name of one of the colossi of the deified Ramesses.

After the end of the Ramesside period there are seven documents belonging to the XXI and XXII dynasties, published by Gauthier[30], where we find some officials bearing the title of "*ś3 nśw n Rʿ-mś-św*", besides military and priestly titles. The meaning of the title of "*royal son of Ramesses*" is unknown, but according to the references related to the title of "*royal son of Amun*", used by the *wʿb n ḥ3t n Ỉmn*[31], it could be a priestly title. We can presume that the title of "*royal son of Ramesses*" may be considered as a derivation of the cult of Ramesses as a god.

THE THEOLOGICAL MEANING OF THE DEIFICATION

The cultic image inside the naos-shrine of the processional bark of Ramesses II, the statue in the sanctuary of the temples where he was worshipped, the statue represented

(26) Stela of Paiwkhered in the Calvet Museum at Avignon. A. Moret, "Monuments égyptiens du Musée Calvet à Avignon", *RT* 34, 1922, pl. 6, 3; *KRI*, III, 119-120.

(27) BM Nr. 290. Schulman, *ZÄS* 93, 1966, fig. 2.

(28) As it is frequently mentioned in the so-called Horbeit stelae. On these stelae see: L. Habachi, "*Khatana-Qantir: Importance* VIII-IX: "The so-called Horbeit stelae", *ASAE* 52, 1954, p. 514 ff.; *KRI*, III, *passim*; Scharff, "Ein Denkstein des Vezirs Rahotep aus der 19. Dynastie, ZÂ S 70, 1934, p. 47-51; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Einige ägyptische Denkmäler in Schweden*, 1945, p. 21-38; J.J. Clère, "Nouveaux documents relatifs au culte des colosses de Ramsès II dans le Delta", *Kémi* 11, 1950, p. 24 ff.; G. Roeder, "Rameses als Gott", ZÄS 61 , 1926, p. 62-64.

(29) Stela from the Kelekian Collection. J.J. Clère, *Kémi* 11, p. 36-37 and pl. III A; *KRI* III, 257.

(30) "Variétés historiques, V: "Les fils royaux de Ramsès", *ASAE* 18, 1919, p. 245 ff.

(31) H. Kees, "Wêbpriester der 18. Dynastie im Tragërdienst bei Prozessionen", *ZÄS* 85, 1960, p. 45 ff.

in the private stelae and the colossi built before the temples, all represent the ka of the deified king. The statue is the deity himself and it has also a name, as we can see it on the colossi of Luxor and Abu Simbel and those represented on stelae. This ka's statue is active : it can heal, appoint kings and officials and solve disputes[32].

The gods and the king have a ka. The king is Horus and son of Re. He is also the son of Amun and Hathor, according to the theogamy of the New Kingdom. This means that the king is a god. But, which is the difference between the king and the gods ? That the king has only a divine aspect : that is his Ka. This is also a royal ka, that is, a collective ka which he receives from the late king, according to the theological system of the Luxor temple[33] and that makes legal his government.

Which is the difference between the king and Ramesses II deified being alive as in the reliefs where the king offers to his own image ? In the case of the deified king, the ka separated from the living king becomes an independent god. He is called *"Wser-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great god, lord of Ta-Sety"*, *"Wser-maat-Re Setep-en-Re"*, *"Ramesses-mery-Amun"*, *"Amun of Wser-maat-Re Setep-en-Re"*, *"Amun of Ramesses-mery-Amun"*. We find some forms of the deified king in relation with Re-Harakhte (*"Re of Ramesses-mery-Amun"*), Atum (*"Atum of Ramesses-mery-Amun"*), Ptah (*"Ptah of Ramesses-mery-Amun*)[34], Montw (*"Wser-maat-Re Setep-en-Re Montw in the Two Lands"*)[35]. We also find other forms in relation with local gods, like *"Amun of the roads"*[36] and *"Ramesses-mery-Amun, in the house of Amun"*[37] in Es-Sebua as a

(32) For instance, in the stela belonging to the Ägyptologisches Seminar in München (Nr. 287), the donor Rahotep calls upon *"The great god, who hears the petition of mankind"*, being the statue that of *"Wser-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, Ruler of the Rulers, the great god, lord of heaven"*. Scharff, *ZÄS* 70, p. 47-51; K*RI* III, 52-53 (25.l); L. Habachi, *o.c.*, fig. 21.

(33) L. Bell, *JNES* 44, p. 251 ff.

(34) W. Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Rameses'II in Karnak*, 1962, plates in p. 17, 21, 27, 29 and 30.

(35) L. Habachi, *ASAE* 52, *passim*.

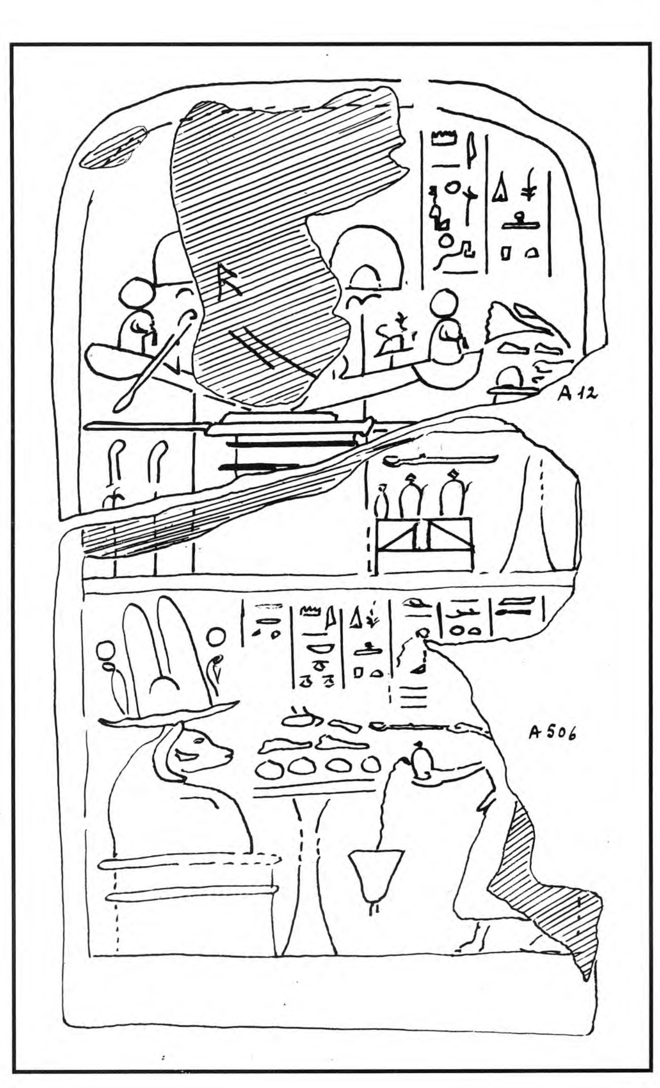
(36) In the temple of Amenophis III (L. Bell, *o.c.*, in *Mél. Mokhtar* I, p. 35) and in three stelae (L. Habachi, "Five stelae from the temple of Amenophis III at Es-Sebua now in the Aswan Museum", *Kush* 8, 1960, p. 46, fig. 1-2 and 49, fig. 4).

(37) L. Bell, *o.c.*, p.39.

special form of Amun, and *"Ramesses-mery-Amun in the house of Ptah"* in Ed-Derr[38], here as a special form of Ptah. All were different gods and at the same time different forms of the same god, the deified Ramesses II.

(38) *Ibid.*





The stella of Nakht

PL. I

A STAFF MEMBER OF THE GOD PTAH IN MEMPHIS

Said GOHARY

A large number of officials served the cult of the god Ptah. Some of them were concerned with the administration of the temples and shrines, while others took part in the everyday services and rituals.

Under the second category comes an official called Neferhotep, who is mentioned on a broken Djed-pillar. It is made of limestone and is inscribed on three sides, the fourth being lost. This pillar is believed to have come from Sakkara[1]. At present it is kept in the Cairo Museum, Room 20, ground floor, under JE. nr. 18928[2].

For this type of pillar it shows a very elaborate and unusual form. Above the Djed-column on the front is Hathor's head shown full face, with the customary cow's ears, heavy wig and broad collar. Above her is the sistrum box on which seated figures of Isis [left] and Nephthys [right] flank a uraeus with solar disc.

The left side has a Djed-pillar with broad and uraeus, surmounted by plumes and solar disc upon horns over which are twin *B3*-birds with sun disc on their heads. The right side was similarly decorated but is less well preserved.

The Texts

Front : on the sistrum box over the goddesses one horizontal line reads to left and right: "A boon given to Isis, Mistress of the West", and "1. A boon given to Nephthys, the Sister of the God".

The titles of the goddesses call for no special remark[3]. However, the formula used is worthy of note : we have simply *ḥtp di* Deity with no *nśw*. This less usual form of *ḥtp*

(1) For earlier mentions of this piece, see PM, ed. J.Malek, *Topographical Bibliography*, 2nd edition, vol. III, p. 755.

(2) I wish to thank Dr. Mohamed Saleh, Director of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, for permitting me to take the photographs.

(3) For "Sister of the God" applied to Nephthys as well as other goddesses, cf. conveniently, *Wb*. IV, p. 151 : 18, 19-20.

di nśw invocation was particularly favoured by Prince Khaemwaset, fourth son of Ramesses II, on his monuments[4] it may even have been introduced by him. If so, then Neferhotep will have been a close contemporary of the prince, or lived even later. This especial variant of the formula appears not to have been discussed previously.

On the pillar-ribs, left : here there are three very short horizontal lines of text :

2. "Deputy[5] in the Temple of Ptah, Neferhotep,
3. Son of the dignitary, the Chief of Craftsmen, Huy, justified ;
4. Scribe of the Divine offerings of Ptah, Neferhotep.

On the pillar-ribs, right : here there are three short horizontal lines paralleling those on left Ptah,

5."The Scribe who counts the silver and gold of Ptah, Neferhotep,
6. Son of the dignitary, the Chief of Craftsmen, Huy, justified ;
7. Chief Craftsmen of Ptah, Neferhotep.

The short vertical line to the left of the pillar reads :

8. "Osiris, Deputy [in the Temple of Ptah, Neferhotep]".

The corresponding line to the right reads :

9. "Osiris, Scribe of offering of all the Gods [? in Memphis, Neferhotep]"[6].

From these brief texts it is clear that Neferhotep succeded in following his father Huy in the job of Chief of Craftsmen. To that post he added other functions : Scribe of the Divine Offerings of Ptah, as well as Scribe of that god's silver and gold.

Other holders of these offices are known. As deputy in the Temple of Ptah, Neferhotep is also known[7] from two shabtis in Leiden[8]. To whom he was deputy is not clear, presumably to some higher administrative official.

(4) See *KRI* II, p. 881: 3,5,8,9,11; 882: 12,16; 888; 5,9; 890: 4; 894: 5,7,9,10.

(5) Here written *idny* not *idnw*. I was unable to find a parallel for this writting; perhaps there is a third missing stocke to make *idnw*.

(6) This part of the text is rather faint and this title is not very common.

(7) Cf. W. Helk, *Materialien* I, p. 133 end, (treasury scribes); p. 134 end, (chief of craftsmen).

(8) See H. D. Schneider, *Shabtis* II, 1977, p. 101, (3.3.1.19/20), p.1.3; also W. Helck, *o.c.*, p .133 (V. 23).

Left side:

1. "Ptah, the Noble Djed Pillar ;
2. maker [.....] [9];
3. Ptah-Tatenen [....]."

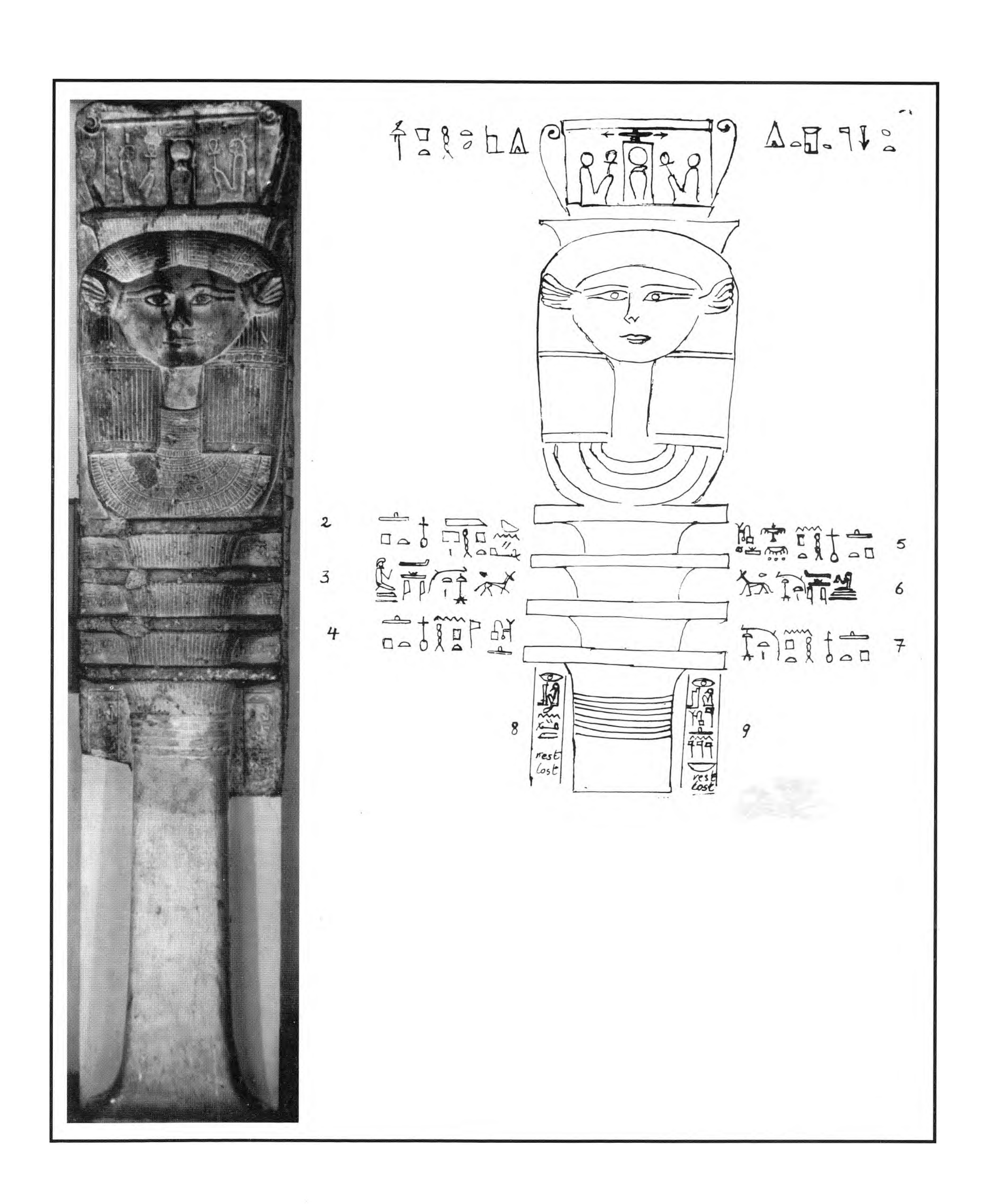
Right side :

1. "Ptah, the Great Nun/Primeval Waters.
2. Osiris, Scribe of the Treasury [of Ptah, Neferhotep]".

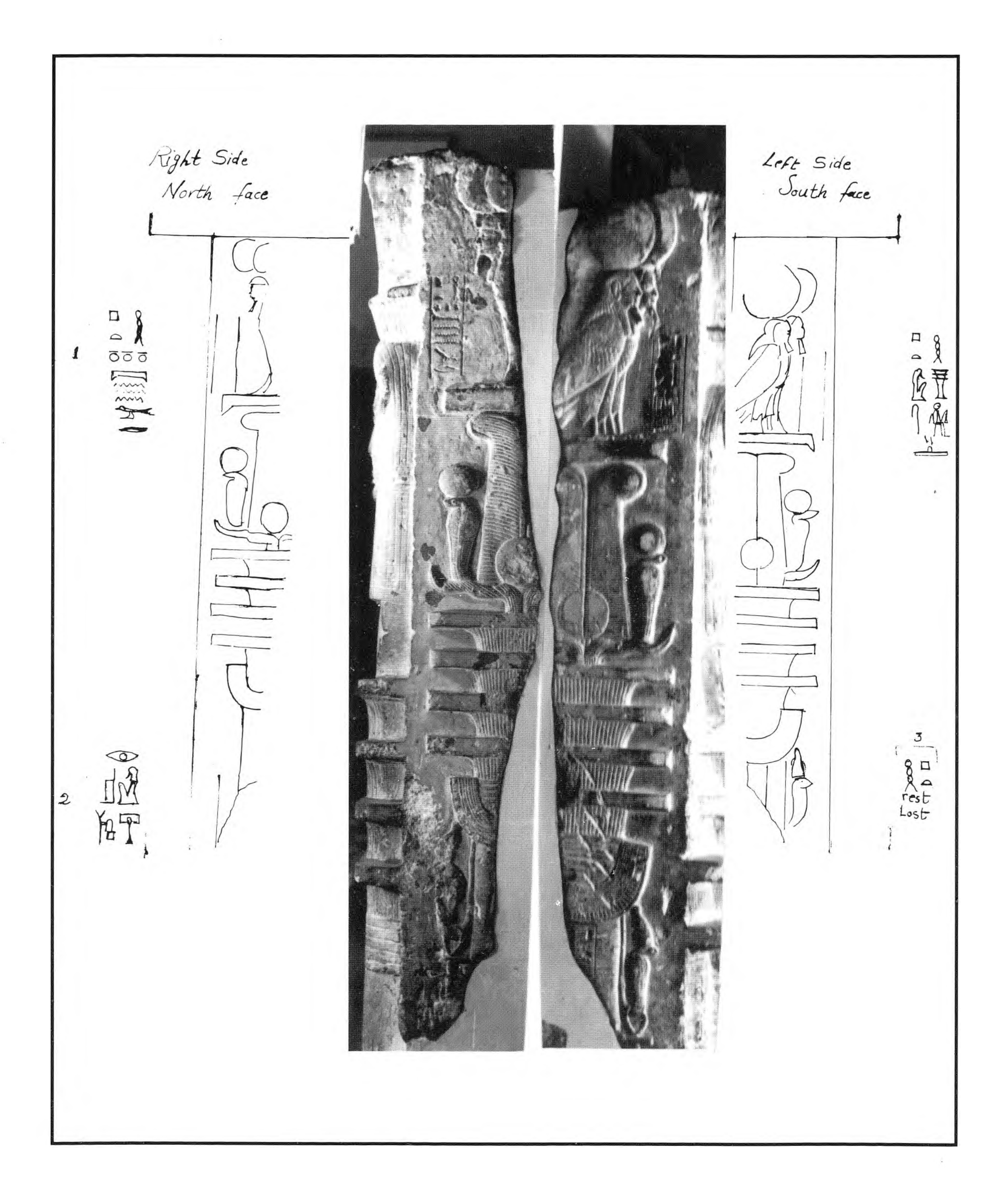
The forms of Ptah named here are those which usually occur on Djed pillars in the Memphite necropolis ; a good example is in the tomb-chapel of Mose[10]. Neferhotep's title of Scribe of the Treasury here agrees with his functions named on the front of the pillar.

(9) Probably restore ir [ntrw rmt] , "maker of gods and men": cf. G.A. Gaballa, *Mose*, London 1977, pl. 44, E.1; G.A. Gaballa, *o.c.*, pls. 41, A.1; and 43, C.4.

(10) G.A. Gaballa, *o.c.*, pls. 41, A.1 ; and 43, C.4.


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PL.II



ANCIENT EGYPTIAN BOAT CONSTRUCTION

Cheryl HALDANE

Wooden boatbuilding began in Egypt by the end of the Naqada III period, if not before Drawings on rock faces along the Nile and in the eastern desert, paintings on pots the presence of copper tools and burgeoning woodworking techniques provide convincing evidence of a developing local Egyptian tradition of boatbuilding. Because the ancient Egyptian buried symbolic and actual goods with the dead, we are fortunate to have a variety of actual hulls to study. Boat graves, representations and descriptions of boats, records of dockyard administration and carpentry, and the study of modern Nile watercraft also contribute to our knowledge of ancient Egyptian boat construction.

The two royal ships of Cheops (c. 2500 BC) are the largest and most ancient planked hulls known[1], but they exhibit construction techniques that may be traced back to the end of the Predynastic period. Analysis of construction features of the four Dahshur hulls (c. 1850 BC)[2] and the Lisht timbers (c.1950 BC)[3] show a continuation of woodworking practices that is remarkable considering a distance in time of more than 700 years. Only a small freighter from the Greco-Roman period shows different techniques of construction, but even then it maintains the Egyptian traditions of the past 2000 years.

In the Late Predynastic period, we begin to see evidence of woodworking skills. Graves are lined with planks up to 2 meters long, and copper tools capable of woodworking appear more frequently as grave goods. By the very end of the Predynastic period and in the Early Dynastic period, the number of manufactured

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(1) P. Lipke, The Royal Ship of Cheops, British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 1984, N° 225; A-M. Abubakr and A.Y. Mustafa, " The Funerary Boat of Khufu", *Beitrage zur aegyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde* 12, 1971, p. 1-16 ; M. Z. Nour, M. S. Osman, Z. Iskander and A.Y. Moustafa, *The Cheops Boat*, Cairo, 1960.

(2) C. Haldane, *The Dahshur Boats*, Texas A & M University 1984 (unpublished M.A. thesis) ; Ibid,"A Fourth Dahshur Boat", *JEA* 71, 1985, p. 174-5.

(3) C. Haldane, "Boat Timbers from El-Lisht", *Mariner's Mirror* 74, 1988, p. 141-52

wooden objects increase dramatically, and these coffins, boxes , and pieces of furniture are well fastened together with pegged mortise-and-tenon joints and lashing.

The mortise-and-tenon joint was destined to be of crucial importance to shipbuilding until frame-first ships were built, beginning in perhaps the 10th or 11th centuries AD. Until then, ships were built by the shell-first method. The shell-first method of shipbuilding refers to the process of laying down a keel or center plank and sculpting adjacent planks to fit its edges. Planks would be added until the shell was partially or entirely complete, then frames inserted to support the sides, rather than to serve as a skeleton upon which to build. Tenons, slotted into mortises in plank edges and usually locked in place by pegs, served as the internal framework for shell-first hulls. The excavation of shipwrecks such as the Late Bronze Age Ulu Burun Wreck near Kas, Turkey[4], the fourth century BC Kyrenia ship on Cyprus[5] and the 7th century AD Byzantine shipwrecked at Yassi Ada[6] show the longevity of the mortise-and-tenon technique.

A First dynasty coffin from Tarkhan (c. 3000 BC) now in the British Museum is built of planks edge-fastened with mortise-and-tenon joints, and at the corners, the planks are pegged to the upper and lower framing pieces of the coffin[7]. Planks from another grave at Tarkhan[8] may be reused planks from a boat or perhaps a bed ; at any rate, they exhibit techniques that would have enabled the Egyptians to build a functional wooden boat. The Tarkhan material exhibits some of the earliest examples of the use of the mortise-and-tenon joint in the ancient world.

The First Dynasty Tarkhan planks also demonstrate another construction technique which was to become central in Egyptian hull construction : lashing. The primary method of fastening the 42 meter long Cheops 1 vesse 1 and its sister ship is

(4) G. F. Bass, "A Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun (Kas) :1984 Campaign", *AJA* 90, 1986, p. 269-96. C. Pulac, "The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun, Turkey : 1985 Campaign", *AJA* 92, 1988, p. 1-37.

(5) J. R. Steffy, "The Kyrenia Ship", *AJA* 89, 1985, p. 71-101.

(6) Bass and F. H. Jr. van Doorninck, *Yassi Ada 1*, College Station, Texas, 1982.

(7) A. J. Spencer, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, vol. V : *Early Dynastic Objects*, London 1980.

(8) Fl. Petrie et *al.*, *Tarkhan I and Memphis* V, London 1913.

by ropes laced through v-shaped lashing holes across the breadth of the hulls. In all other known examples of lashing, the ropes are lashed along the lengths of the plank seams. The rail-to-rail method of lashing saves rope and would be a faster and easily reversible method of construction.

Mortise-and-tenon joints and lashing at strategic points held adjacent planks firmly together in the Cheops hulls. However, unlike later Mediterranean examples of mortise-and-tenon construction, there are no pegs locking the Cheops tenons in place below the water-line ; deck structures do include some pegged joints. The lack of pegged mortise-and-tenon joints and lashing across the hull add weight to the suggestion that Egyptian vessels may have been constructed in order to be taken apart and put back together.

Textual and representational evidence throughout Egyptian history tells us that expeditions were sent across the desert to the Red Sea, where large ships departed for the mystical land of Punt. Rock art and inscriptions in the Wadi Hammamat, a natural conduit between the Nile and the Red Sea coast, describe crews of sailors and ship captains as well as depicting ancient ships. It would have been far simpler to build a boat on the Nile, take it apart and carry it through the desert, and reassemble it than either to build a boat from raw materials transported across the desert or by dragging a full-sized vessel through the wadi.

The Middle Kingdom boat timbers found buried around the pyramid of Senwosret I at Lisht provide another example of Egyptian construction techniques[9]. Rather than depending on lashing like the Cheops hulls, deep mortise-and-tenon joints held the squat and sturdy timbers together. But lashing played an integral role in the Lisht timbers as well : at strategic points, located in similar positions to those on planks from the Cheops 1 planks, a webbed lashing secured scarf's, plank ends and potential weak points together.

Unlike the finds of vessels at the pyramids of Cheops at Giza and Senwosret III at Dahshour, the timbers at Lisht do not belong to complete hull. Instead these timbers were once part of a boat or boats, sawn apart at the plank seams, and used as foundations for roads and rampway at the pyramid complex. Consequently, we do not have a precise idea of how boat looked, but it is likely that the timbers belonged

(9) C. Haldane, *o.c.*, p. 141-52.

to a freight boat, built to carry heavy loads. The techniques used in construction of the Lisht vessel(s) would have been suitable for building a seafaring hull. Such boats had to be capable of absorbing the great stress of sea journeys, and it is likely that they shared many features with the boats that transported thousands of kilos of stone from quarries to building sites.

The four boats from Dahshour, each about 10 meters long, rely upon mortise-and-tenon joints to hold their thick cedar planks together. The joints are not pegged. In addition, there are dovetail clamps across plank seams, curiously placed in the same distribution patterns as lashing from the Lisht timbers. Almost all of these fastenings were heavily recut when the boats were reconstructed at the turn of the century, but the original fastenings are ambiguous. They may, in fact, have once been shallow lashing mortises. The planks of the Dahshour hulls exhibit similar timber shapes and the same planking layout on a reduced scale as the reconstructed Cheops hull, but it is likely that these boats were mainly ceremonial in nature. The discovery of a unique, plank-built, two-meter-long model from a tomb at Lisht supports this idea ; the model is practically a 1:5 scale model of the Dahshur hulls.

Lessons learned in the building of both luxury vessels of immense size like the Cheops hulls and working freight boats like those from Lisht that may have been applied to seagoing watercraft include the use of lashing for security and to maintain hull flexibility. The mortise-and-tenon joints in the Lisht hull were wedged with pegs beside the tenons, not through them, and this would have enabled the planks to be locked together while permitting the hull to be taken apart.

The 1987 discovery of a small freighter built of sycomore wood beneath 12 meters of sediment in Mataria, Cairo, provided the first example of the use of pegged mortise-and-tenon joints in Egyptian boat construction. Although the pegged fastenings mirror those found on the Mediterranean vessels of the Classical period, the planking pattern of the hull is purely Egyptian. The boat, radiocarbon dated to 2450 BC has the same pattern of a thicker central strake and short but sturdy planks seen in the more ancient hulls.

With the existence of such highly developed ship and boat construction techniques beginning nearly five millennia ago, it is intriguing to speculate on the role of Egyptians played in the diffusion of seafaring and long voyages across the Mediterranean. We know that the Egyptians had extensive contacts with the ancient

Syrian peoples, and the first recorded expedition to Punt by the Red Sea road dates to the Fifth Dynasty pharaoh Sahure. No other lands have produced physical evidence of wood working techniques although we know that the Aegean and northeastern Mediterranean were travelled about 10,000 years ago. Much of this travel was in the nature of island hopping, however, and would not require the construction of a large hull.

Were the Egyptians locked into a world view that encompassed only the Nile ? Did the Syrian teach the Egyptians how to build ships ? Or is it possible that the unique Egyptians methods of joinery spread to the north along with the goods they traded in the Predynastic period? Continued exploration beneath the sands of Egypt and the waters of the Mediterranean will provide the opportunity to answer such questions, but it is certain that the Egyptians were capable of building seaworthy wooden craft by 2500 BC at least, and possibly as early as 3000 BC.

CHAMPOLLION ET L'INVENTAIRE DES COLLECTIONS ROYALES DU LOUVRE

Monique KANAWATY

A son arrivée à la tête du Département des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Louvre, récemment crée par le roi Charles X[1], Jean-François Champollion se voyait chargé officiellement par le Directeur des Musées royaux, le comte de Forbin, d'un travail administratif important : établir l'inventaire détaillé des collections royales qui composaient sa section. Chaque conservateur était en effet tenu d'accomplir cette tâche assez fastidieuse.

Pour le nouveau conservateur, si ce travail entrait parfaitement dans ses projets d'organisation, cela représentait une rude besogne. Deux importantes acquisitions constituaient l'essentiel de son domaine : la collection Salt qu'il avait contrôlée et analysée rapidement à Liveourne et la deuxième collection Durand acquise par le roi en 1824, très sommairement inventoriée par le vendeur et le comte de Clarac[2]. A eux seuls, ces deux ensembles comptaient plusieurs milliers de pièces, de la minuscule amulette aux statues colossales. S'y ajoutaient quelques monuments de l'ancien fonds et les achats ultérieurs.

Dès son séjour à Turin, le savant avait conçu un plan bien précis pour organiser méthodiquement les trésors de l'antique Egypte[3]. Il allait enfin pouvoir mettre ses théories en pratique mais pour ce faire, chaque pièce passerait dans ses mains pour y être observée, étudiée, décrite. Il confiait à l'ami fidèle de Turin, l'abbé Gazzera, en septembre 1827 : "... Vous pensez bien que je mets à exécution le plan de classification qu'on n'a pas voulu me laisser exécuter à Turin: ce sera une véritable encyclopédie égyptienne par ordre de matières, religion, gouvernement, moeurs, usages, coutumes, etc."[4].

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(1) Ordonnance royale datée du 15 mai 1826.

(2) Conservateur du Département des Antiques du Musée Royal depuis 1818.

(3) Cf. Lettre adressée au comte Roget de Cholex (juin 1824) in Hartleben, *Lettres de Champollion le Jeune*, I, vol. XXX, Paris 1909, p. 14-19.

(4) Hartleben, *o.c.*, p. 429.

Un témoignage à la fois précis et émouvant de ce laborieux parcours, nous est parvenu : prémices de l'inventaire officiel, de grands feuillets, éléments d'un immense fichier, couverts de l'écriture du maître, comportent la nomenclature des objets classés par catégories, tels qu'ils apparaissent très succintement notés dans la *Notice descriptive des monuments égyptiens du Musée Charles X* destinée aux visiteurs.

Un certain nombre de ces feuillets a été retrouvé au milieu de divers documents provenant de l'ancienne "Salle d'étude", organisée après la guerre dans la plus grande réserve du Département Egyptien, aujourdhui transférée.

Jacques Vandier en réalisa le classement et déposa l'ensemble aux Archives du Musée du Louvre. Toutes ces feuilles furent reliées en un unique volume[5] qui s'avère en réalité factice, car formé des éléments de deux manuscrits tout à fait différents, à la fois par l'apparence et par le contenu.

L'origine du second a été aisée à retrouver dans l'inventaire du Département où il figure sous le n° E 14 728, avec l'intitulé suivant: "Manuscrit de la "Notice descriptive des monuments égyptiens du Musée Charles X" de Jean-François Champollion[6], don de l'arrière-petit-fils de J.-F. Champollion, M. René Champollion, New York. Comité du 31 mars 1938 et Conseil du 5 avril".

Ce manuscrit particulier, incorporé et malheureusement paginé dans ce recueil artificiel (p. 269-303), ne comporte que 16 feuillets de format demi-folio, sur lesquels est noté de la main de Champollion, avec ratures et modifications, le texte même des pages imprimées de la Notice, 122 à 133. Toutefois certaines pages sont manquantes, comme le montre une pagination ancienne, sans doute d'origine. On y lit, presque complète, la présentation de la Série "P" = *Ornements funéraires*, à partir de la section "D" = *Colliers funéraires*, et les séries "Q", "R", et "S".

Les autres feuillets, de format grand folio, ont une présentation bien différente. Ces grandes pages portent la description de *tous* les objets, un par un, classés

(5) Archives du Louvre, 7 DD 6. Une page publiée (n° 31) dans le catalogue de l'exposition "Naissance de l'Ecriture", n° 313, p. 375. Grand Palais, Paris 1982.

(6) *Notice descriptive des Monuments Egyptiens du Musée Charles X par Monsieur Champollion le jeune*, Paris 1827.

naturellement, suivant le plan repris dans la "Notice"; ils forment les fiches d'un immense fichier dont la "Notice" n'est qu'un simple abrégé. Ils sont au nombre de 136 avec trois feuilles supplémentaires qui représentent des documents de travail[7] et n'ont rien à voir avec cet inventaire proprement dit.

En complément de cette classification, on trouve des subdivisions par nature du matérieau : bronze, bois, pierre, etc... La plupart des objets sont décrits suivant un système qui se veut rigoureux mais que, pressé par le temps, le savant ne respecte pas toujours, aussi l'analyse du texte rencontre-t-elle parfois de savoureux lapsus. Presque tous les objets sont mesurés et il est fait mention de la collection d'origine : Salt, Durand, Brindeau, etc... Le plus souvent les inscriptions : noms et titres des personnages évoqués, sont reportées par les belles transcriptions hiéroglyphiques de Champollion, ce qui représente une source de renseignements très importante. C'est bien là le travail de base, avant la rédaction définitive de l'inventaire que le savant n'aura malheureusement pas le loisir d'achever.

Cet ensemble comprend approximativement les monuments de la série "A" = *Images de divinités* : p. 3 à 137 inclus, et ceux de la série "B" = *Emblèmes de divinités*, p. 139 à 265. Le verso de la majeure partie des feuilles ne comporte pas de texte.

Sur ces feuillets apparaît à plusieurs reprises une écriture fort différente, qui s'avère être celle d'Hippolito Rosellini—trahi aussi par quelques italianismes sympathiques—Rosellini auquel Champollion avait confié quelques objets, des amulettes, le plus souvent, pour les décrire et les consigner. Ceci concrétise la promesse faite par Jean-François au Grand Duc de Toscane de faire travailler sous sa surveillance le disciple enthousiaste. Il écrivait au souverain en mars 1827: "... Le Musée Royal, confié à mes soins, me permet de donner les monuments originaux à la main de mon jeune élève ardent et de lui passer toute l'instruction et toute l'habitude que je puis avoir, moi-même, des arts et de l'histoire de l'ancienne Egypte...".[8]

(7) Des notes d'étude de ce genre sont très nombreuses dans les papiers et fichiers de Champollion, aussi bien à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris que dans les papiers de famille.

(8) cf. Hartleben, *o.c.*, p. 415. Lettre datée du 3 mars 1827.

L'intérêt que représente cet inventaire faisait regretter le nombre limité de ses fiches. Or il y a quelque temps nous avons eu la bonne fortune de retrouver parmi divers documents renfermés dans l'une des armoires du Département, un complément assez important, non encore relié, et constitué de 85 feuillets du même grand format. Ils étaient accompagnés d'une feuille double du plus petit format, venant s'ajouter au manuscrit "René Champollion" dont la série "Q" se trouve désormais complète.

Les déplacements successifs des objets et de la documentation dans un palais historique, mal adapté à ses fonctions muséologiques et en perpétuel réaménagement, sont certainement à l'origine de cette séparation.

Ces nouveaux papiers apportent tout d'abord un complément à la description de la série "B", et donnent les analyses des séries "G" = *Figurines représentant des individus de diverses castes égyptiennes* ; "H" = *Instruments de culte*, en partie; "I" = *Objets d'habillement* ; "K" = *Bijoux et objets de parures* ; et enfin quelques éléments de la série "M", *Instruments de musique*. Ce qui constitue une grande partie de ce que Champollion appelait la *Salle civile*. Il est certain que le savant avait opéré une sélection rigoureuse et que tous les objets mentionnés dans cet inventaire ne figuraient pas dans les salles du Musée Charles X. La comparaison avec le texte de la Notice imprimée en donne la certitude et plus encore, celle avec les descriptions des inventaires de 1832, réalisés par Dubois et qui comportent la localisation des objets.

Manquaient encore les pièces de la division: *"Salles funéraires"*. Un examen des papiers Champollion, conservés au Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, à Paris, nous a permis d'y retrouver, mêlés à bien d'autres textes, une partie conséquente des éléments qui faisaient défaut. Ils sont incorporés au volume XL, sous la cote : N. A. F. 20 362, folio 212 à 330 inclus. Ils avaient été compris dans la masse de documents soustraits par Salvolini durant les derniers mois de la courte existence du savant. S'il était nécessaire, un détail vient corroborer cette affirmation. Une page, faisant office de chemise à ce dossier, comporte un titre en surcharge, tracé de la main même du disciple indélicat: "Fragments de la description du Musée

Charles X[9]. D'autre part, on retrouve à plusieurs reprises un "N° 18", écrit par une autre main, numéro correspondant à la liste des papiers de Salvolini, identifiés par Charles Lenormant[10]. Dans cette dernière liasse, on trouve l'étude des séries "P" = *Ornements funéraires*" ; "Q" = *Images funéraires* ; "R" = *Coffrets destinés à renfermer des images funéraires* ; malheureusement un seul feuillet de "T" = *Manuscrits funéraires*, avec la description détaillée de plusieurs manuscrits ; "U" = *Statuettes ayant servi d'étui aux manuscrits funéraires* ; "V" = *Tableaux funéraires*".

Tout ceci forme un ensemble de séries comprenant un maximum de transcriptions de noms et de titres. Feuilles de travail personnelles, sans cesse révisées et complétées par le savant et qu'il tenait certainement à conserver près de lui, ce qui laisse deviner l'intérêt que pouvait y porter l'élève cupide.

Si le cheminement de ces derniers feuillets est facile à percevoir, comment les premiers sont-ils parvenus au Louvre ? Aucune mention ne se trouve dans les inventaires ni dans les archives du Département. Sont-ils restés dans les mains de Rosine Champollion et de ses héritiers ou ont-ils été recueillis par Champollion Figeac? Cette dernière hypothèse semble être la plus vraisemblable.

On sait que le Gouvernement accepta, après la mort du savant, la proposition d'acquérir ses manuscrits. On sait encore qu'en 1848, lors de l'instauration de la Deuxième République, Jacques-Joseph fut l'objet d'accusations et de poursuites : on lui reprochait,—disait-on,—d'avoir conservé à tort certains documents faisant partie du lot acheté par les autorités ; la querelle se perdit dans les finasseries de juristes sur la différenciation entre papiers personnels et papiers scientifiques.

Il est à peu près sûr qu'un certain nombre de documents, sans doute pour les préserver de la vindicte et de la mainmise policière ou autre, en ces temps agités du début de la Deuxième République ont été "abrités", éparpillés chez divers amis de la famille Champollion... et peut-être perdus de vue. Aimé Champollion-Figeac tentera et réussira ultérieurement à retrouver quelques pièces, notamment par la voie du commerce[11], mais non pas ceux-ci. Toutefois, une feuille volante incorporée aux

(9) F. 232.

(10) F. 248, 309, 326, 328.

(11) Cf. Papiers de famille, Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale d'art et d'histoire, 1 mi 17.

documents du Louvre offre peut-être une solution ; elle porte, tracé au crayon: Seymour de Ricci. On pourrait donc supposer que le manuscrit certainement incomplet, a été acquis par le grand collectionneur qui en aurait ensuite fait don au Département des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Louvre ou à l'un de ses conservateurs.

Quoiqu'il en soit, un grand nombre de feuillets n'a pas été retrouvé. Peut-être certains sont-ils encore dissimulés dans les 68 volumes de la Bibliothèque Nationale ou se cachent-ils dans des collections publiques ou privées. Il reste donc à formuler le voeu que ce grand ensemble, si riche d'enseignement, puisse peu à peu se reconstituer dans son entier et apporter un témoignage supplémentaire de l'oeuvre du grand savant, en particulier du travail important qu'il a accompli pour "son" Musée en conciliant le bien de la science et la bonne marche de l'administration.

RECENT WORK OF THE DAKHLEH OASIS PROJECT

Anthony J. MILLS

The Dakhleh Oasis Project[1] has now completed ten seasons of field work[2]. During this period we have undertaken a survey of the entire oasis region to search for archaeological sites and for natural phenomena, and we have begun the excavation of various sites of historical and prehistoric dates. The aim of the project is to understand the relationship between human activity and environmental change throughout the 250,000 years of man's activity in this isolated and climatically sensitive region. Our study is a regional one for it is only on this broader basis that the patterns of human cultural evolution become clear.

Dakhleh is appropriate for such a study because it is a restricted area. Where external influences can more easily be seen, yet the oasis (some 80 x 20 km, with a local population of around 65,000) is large enough to give us a firm basis for data interpretation. The time-scale gives us a sensitivity to environmental and landscape changes which might otherwise not be so apparent.

While the survey for sites of the historical periods has been completed, the search for prehistoric remains and for enviromental evidence continues. This is chiefly due to the fact that the oasis area has been more extensive in the past than it is to-day. In fact, it is in this palaeo-oasis region where one is more apt to find sites, disturbed only by natural events, and landscape information undisturbed by subsequent human activity. Surveying techniques continue to be appropriate to this kind of research, Excavation is also being employed by the project at several sites in order to explore in detail a variety

(1) The project is jointly sponsored by the Royal Ontario Museum and the Society for the study of Egyptian Antiquities.

(2) The various co-invistigators have made preliminary reports on field activities in annual numbers of the *JSSEA* since Vol. 9 (1979).

of problems and it is to this aspect of our field work that I now turn.

There of the excavations currently being undertaken by the project are, for reasons of logistics, concentrated in the eastern zone of the oasis. The first of these is at a cemeterey, named *Ein Tirghi*, where important data on both cultural and physical anthropological material is being gathered. Artefacts as early as second Intermediate period ceramics and as late as a page of a IV[th] century parchment codex[3] have come from this site, and it seems as though it was in continuous use for a period of nearly two millenia. Indeed, it is virtually the only site in the entire oasis where we have found evidence relating to the New Kingdom and later Pharaonic periods. The group of painted wooden coffins (Pl. I-a) from a single chamber of one of the tombs at the site is charactereristic of the site in that they show us the strong ties to the Nile Valley homeland that were maintained by oasis dwellers, the economic and social strengths of the community, and we see, from the inscriptions on the lids, that the various owners were related. It is this latter fact that leads to the major physical anthropological study of the skeletal remains of the site[4] , for there is a multiplicity of inhumations in nearly all of the graves at *Ein Tirghi*. There is a growing sample of material yeilding data on the morphological characteristicts of the population and its palaeoepidemiology. Among our most marking. This was probably ingested in bread, as tetracycline interesting results so far is the fact that virtually all specimens show evidence of tetracycline naturally occurs on wheat. The result was that some antibiotic resistance to infection undoubtedly occured and we see very few signs of infection despite the ustual number of broken and healed bones and wounds. Another incidence is that of iron deficiency anemia, which is seen to have affected every infant and child and was active in many adults. Many of the symptoms represented at this site can be attributed to the fact that Dakhleh people suffered considerable disease and nutritional stress in attempting to adapt to a desert ecology.

We are forming a profile of the population of Dakhleh during the last millenium BC based on morphogentics. These are showing a considerable homogeneity and the incidence of certain anomalies indicates that the samples are biological lineages with a higt degree of

(3) C. A. Hope, *JSSEA* 13, p. 144-5 ; C.A. Hope and M. Riddle, "Early Christianity in the Egyptian Sahar : New Finds" in Horsley, G.H.R ; *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity, vol. III*, p.159- 164.

(4) Reports by J. E. Molto and others are in press.

endogamy, which may indicate a relatively stable indigenous population in the oasis with little extra genetic admixing from other regions.

A second site which is being excavated is that of *Ein Birbiyeh*. During the 1982 season we realized that the stone fragments scattered over a low hilltop, which formerly had been dismissed as foundations or ruined foundation of a temple or a fort[5], was in fact the site of a more or less complete temple. The large blocks that could be discerned on the surface were actually roofing slabs and we now know the site to be a sandstone temple buried to the roof in a sand dune.

Excavation at this site has now occupied three seasons and the results are more than satisfying, However, we must proceed slowly for reasons of conservation. The great sand dune which forms the hillock of the site was utilized for a very long time by local farmers and their irrigation waters constantly passed back and forth across the temple area. Some of this, of course seeped downwards through the soil and through the monument. This has affected the stone fabric in its own right and has also encouraged the growth of the root systems of woody plants, like *Tamarix*, which have also affected the building. The stone used in the temple is a fine-grained local sandstone and the effect of these chemical and floral agents over the centuries has caused a deterioration of the crystalline silica structure that binds the particles of the stone together as well as a physical splitting and separating of many of the blocks. An important additional contributory factor to the present condition of the temple is the clay soil which underlies it. Unlike the alluvium of the Nile Valley, a clay soil expands and contracts as water comes and goes, and the forces generated are far greater than such a building as this temple could resist. So, the building has twisted and buckled (Pl.I-b) evidence of plastering and repairing suggests that this was occuring even during the period of construction. Our excavating has been necessarily slow because wall faces must not be left exposed and untreated for more than a week or two and we must not get too far ahead of the conservation team. Even facsimile copying must wait until initial conservation hardens the decorated surface of blocks.

Philosophically, we are opposed to the introduction of any synthetic material nto a monument of such an age ; and for reasons of logistics and cost, we restrict our technique to materials available locally in the Egyptian market. The technique,

(5) H. E. Winlock, ed, *Dakhla Oasis*, New York 1936, p.17, fn.3.

basically, is designed to renew the silica crystalline structure of the stone, leaving the stone unsealed and each block separate from others. The alteration in the stone is from something approaching the consistency of granulated sugar, when excavated, to a hardness that would probably resist hammering[6].

A considerable part of the temple gateway has now been revealed, although we estimate that another 1.5 meters remains unexcavated as yet. What we do see here is a series of very finely-cut relief decorations, containing a standard type of scene which depicts the king (Pl. II-a) presenting various offerings to a pair of deities. The king, in every case, is identified as "Kaiseros", Caesar, and must be identified as Augustus. So, the construction of the gateway, if not the remainder of the temple, must date to sometime between 27 BC and 14 AD. The pairs of gods to whom offerings are presented include Osiris and Isis, Ptah and Sekhmet, but most frequently we see the representation of a new deity, Amun-Nakht, with his consort Hathor. In fact, it seems certain from a dedictory inscription on the front face of the gateway[7], that this falcon-headed, warlike figure is the god to whom the temple is dedicated. The major icon in the gateway stands alone, in a striding position, spear raised to strike an enemy underfoot and a lion at his side. He is identified as Amun-Nakht, but bears a most striking resemblance to a depiction of Setekh in the temple of Hibis at Kharga[8], Setekh is the god of the deserts, and in the Ashmolean Stelae from Mut, in the Dakhleh Oasis, the cult of Setekh is the one which gives the oracular judgment. So, Amun-Nakht may, in fact, turn out to be a pseudonym or an alter-ego for Setekh.

During the most recent season, we began to work in the sanctuary and various other parts of the temple, excavation down to a depth of about a meter. Apart from learning a great deal about the sad condition of the monument, we also have begun to appreciate the decoration in the sanctuary. There, a style quite dissimilar to that of the gateway is

(6) A. K. Zielinski, " Excavation at Dakhla Oasis", *ICOMOS, Canada Newsletter* VII-4, Ottawa, 1986, and "Conservation at Dakhla" in *Preventative Measures during Excavation and Site Protection, ICCROM*, Rome 1986, p. 203-212.

(7) A. J. Milles, *JSSEA* 15, p. 113, fig..3.

(8) Davies, N. de G. *The Temple of Hibis in el-Kharga Oasis.* Part III: The Decoration, New-York 1953, p. 27-8 ; Part II, 42, 77b.

encountered, Instead of the exquisitely carved sunk relief, we now have raised relief of a much cruder execution. The *kheker*-ornament at the top of the wall decoration is about 50 cm high and has been smoothly finished. But the underlying band of hieroglyphs, panels and figures have a crudeness that makes one suspect that they were intentionally left so in order to provide a substantial key for a thick coat of plaster. The larger figures of the king and the hawk-head of Amun-Nakht are quite recognizable, although the reading of some of the smaller signs will require more study. Although the cartouches all end with "Kaiseros", none has yet been specifically identified.

The final excavation I will describe is that at one of the three large Romano-Byzantine towns of Dakhleh, that called *Ismant el-Gharab*. Our reason for excavating at this site is a somewhat complicated one. Throughout the oasis there is a large number of small farmsteads and agricultural communities of this general period, which were usually rather short-lived-perhaps about a generation. Nevertheless, they are rich in information about the ecology, the economy and the society of the time of their occupation. Because of the short life-span, however, no connected account of the socio-economic development in the oasis can be ascertained from a study of these sites until they themselves can be ordered in sequence. In order to do that we must have a well established chronological sequence of the artefacts, particularly the ceramics, based on the firm internal evidence from well-controlled stratigraphic excavation.

Our surveying at *Ismant el-Gharab* had produced a considerable amount of information about the history of the town. There are the remains of at least three temples of late Ptolemaic or Roman date, one with relief carved decoration on the door jambs; another with the most unusual feature of having the decoration and inscriptions painted on to plastered mud-brick walls. There is a street of Roman mud brick mausolea in good condition, and a Roman bath. In addition, there are the remains of at least three churches, So the site is perceived to have had a continuous occupation right through this period when the Dakhleh Oasis enjoyed such a marvellous prosperity and a great population expansion. Our primary interest in the site, however is not in all the monumental architecture, but in the potential richness of its buried stratified deposits.

Our excavation are, therefore,in domestic houses and streets. The first area we have selected for study is adjacent to what, for the time being, we call the "Governor's Palace", a huge building of over 200 rooms, with some obviously formal or public chambers which were elaborately decorated with painted plaster. Two seasons ago, the

first house in this block was excavated[9]. The preservation of the architecture was excellent, with the walls of the ground floor rooms standing to the vault springing, well over 2,5 meters above the floors. The building is constructed of mud brick plastered over with mud. The floors are of stamped mud and ceiling were vaulted wherever the span was not too great. All the wood had been removed from the building-door farming, cupboard shelves, and even the farming had been cut away from a bed, the remainder left lying on the floor. The fil of these rooms was almost entirely drifted sand, free of occupation debris except on the floors. All this serves to indicate that the building was probably abandoned rather quickly becouse it was in the path of moving sand dunes. This has meant the preservation of much of the site in such good condition, and the only note of disappointment was struck by our failure to find the sought - for stratified remains.

This past season, the dwelling immediately to the east of the first one was the subject of our work. it is a similar house of half-a-dozen rooms and was found in a similar state of preservation, with its walls standing to the tops of the ground floor rooms again, the bulk of the fill was of clean sand, blown or drifted in, although there was, in this case, from the collapsed second storey also some fallen debris, in the form of ceiling timbers and palm stalks, mixed with the occupation debris that had been left on that floor. again, no stratified floor deposit was encountered and part of next season's strategy is to investigate the street adjacent to the west side of this block of houses.

Another part of next season's strategy, however, is the result of an important find made last season. In that second story debris was over 350 fragments of papyrus, many of which join together. Most of them are written in Greek, although a few are in a sub-Akhmimic dialect of Coptic. Dating, based on palaeography, is as early as the second centuy AD and down to the fifth century. Work has only begun on this archive, so it is not possible to say very much about it yet. The documents contain a reference to a convent (as yet unidentified) and one of them is a fragment of a liturgy. However, there are other documentary finds of an even greater interest. Three of these are complete texts. The first, the shortest, is the record of the sale of a house by a certain Aurelios Besas to one Aurelios Pamunes. Both live in the village of Kellis, which must certainly

(9) C. A. Hope, *JSSEA* 15, p. 114-125.

be the ancient name of *Ismant el-Gharab*. Even more importantly, it is mentioned that Kellis is in the Mouthite nome.

Previouly, it has been held that Dakhleh Oasis fell under the control of the Hibis Nome[10], but this text, which dates to the very end of third century, makes it clear that Dakhleh was a separate administrative area.

The second and third complete texts were found together, in an outer room, which had probably been a kitchen (Pl. II-b). Their context makes it clear that they had been lost or abondoned and not simply left in the place where they had been in use. They were deposited a metre above the floor of the room and were covered by almost two meters of sand deposit. So our finding of them is a real matter of chance. They are two complete codicies. Each is made up of wooden leaves of the usual size, bound together with string. Both are written in Greek and are in an excellent state of preservation. Dating is somewhere in the region of 300 AD.

The first contains the first three scholastic essays of the Athenian philosopher, Isocrates, a succesor of Plato and particularly influential in political thinking. The first essay, *Ad Demonicum*, is a letter full of partical moral precepts addressed to the young Demonicus ; the second is a letter to Nikokles, the young king of Salamis in Cyprus, concerning the duty of a monarch towards his subject ; the third is a popular plea for the monarchy, couched as a speech by Nikokles to his Salamatians, on their duty to their king. It is generally accepted that the works were composed between 374 and 372 BC., and, although all three are well known works, it seems that the Kellis text is the earliest yet discovered.

The second codex is of even greater interest in our study. Its 17 pages are entirely devoted to four consecutive years of the farm accounts of Faustianos, a landlord at Kellis. It records the names of wells in the vicinity (in the oasis land ownership has never been important, and the ownership of water sources in the real measure of a man'swealth and importance). It mentions a number of the tenants of Faustianos; Serapis, a cobbler Peter, a deacon ; and there is one truely Biblical name, Iohannes, amongst them. That the account book was written by a Christian there is no doubt, because it begins with a Christian invocation, and it seems certain that we are dealing

(10) eg., G. Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Egypte*, Le Caire 1987.

with a community that has just completed or is actually in the process of convertion to Christianity from the Egypto-Roman pagan tradition.

Our major line of enquiary is into the relationships between human activity and changing environmental condition. The great importance of this book of farm accounts is that it lists the various commodities that were used as payments betwen the landlord and the tenants over the four years. Now we can get an idea of productivity and the general economy of the town : of the relationships between landowners and tenants of the sufficiency of the community ; of nutritional patterns (which ought to tie into the work of the physical anthropologists working at *Ein Tirghi*); and of life in general in the region. So we have mention of such diverse products as barley, wheat, animal fodder and straw, meat, sesame, olive oil, wine, cotton, chickens and pigs. From such a preliminary survey of the text we must be a little careful about drawing too many strong conclusions, but there is no doubt of its supreme importance.

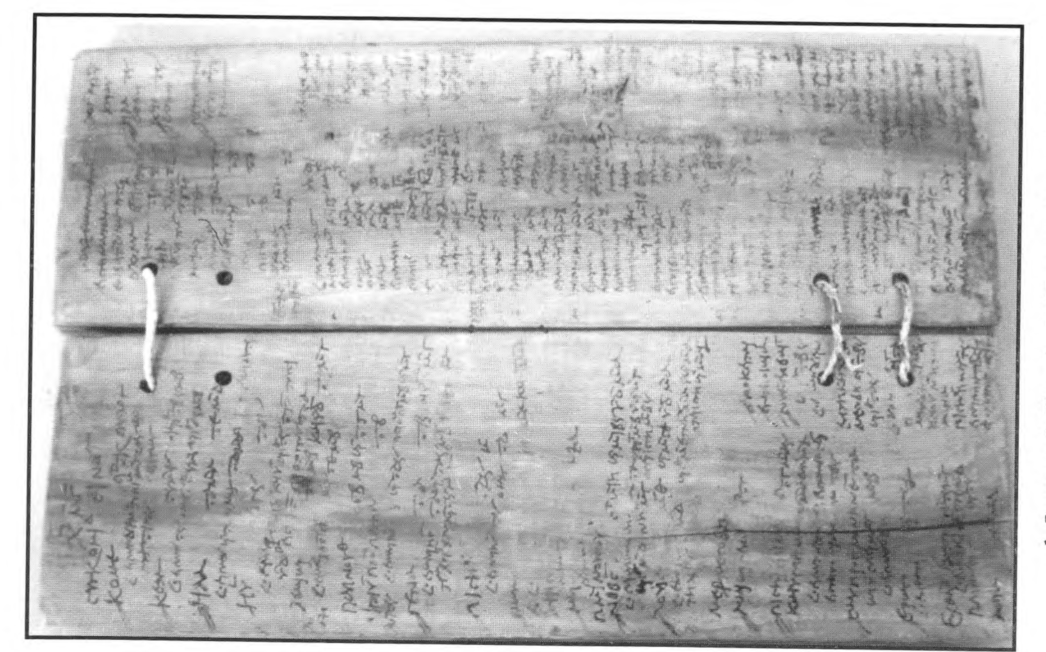


a- Group of painted wooden coffins from Ein Tirghi, grave 14. Persian domination.

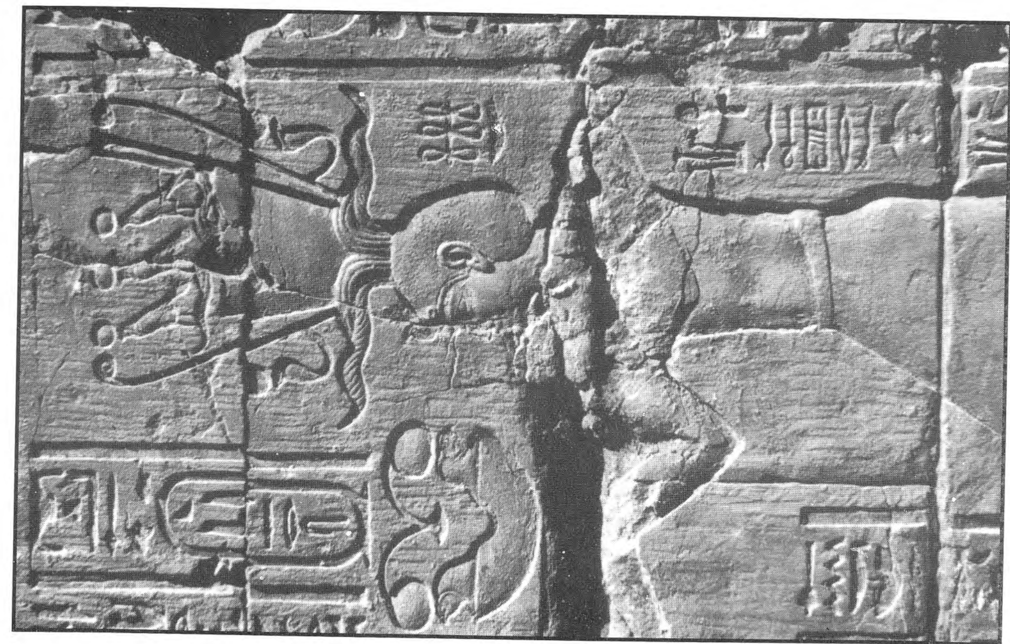


b- Temple of Ein Birbiyeh view from E showing the dislocation of the architectural elements in situ.

PL. II



b-Ismant el Gharab, 1988 ; wooden codex.



a-Temple of Ein Birbiyeh;Gateway, detail of face of emperor Augustus.

FOUILLES DANS LE SECTEUR DE LA MURAILLE MÉRIDIONALE A HÉRACLEOPOLIS MAGNA : LA NÉCROPOLE DE LA PREMIÈRE PÉRIODE INTERMÉDIAIRE

Josep PADRO

Avant 1968, l'unique nécropole héracléopolitaine connue de la Première Période Intermédiaire était celle de Sedment : dans l'étroite frange de désert qui se glisse entre la Vallée du Nil et la dépression du Fayoum, Petrie et Brunton fouillèrent, entre 1920 et 1921, quelques centaines de tombeaux appartenant à cette période[1]. Mais en 1969, Lopez découvrait une nouvelle nécropole de cette époque à l'extrémité sud du site d'Héracléopolis Magna, tout près de la Muraille sud dont les restes sont encore visibles.[2]

Lopez fouilla jusqu'en 1969 les treize premiers tombeaux et procéda à leur étude, tandis que Roccati étudia les *Textes des Sarcophages* des tombes de Zaket et de Nefeririou[3]. Preselo fouilla tout autour de ce noyau initial de la nécropole[4]. Les fouilles, interrompues quelques années, reprirent en 1976, lorsque Presedo découvrit de nouvelles tombes au nord des précédentes. Les fouilles se poursuivirent en 1977 et 1979 pour être à nouveau interrompues[5].

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(1) Fl. Petrie et G. Brunton, *Sedment* I et II, Londres 1924.

(2) J. Lopez, "Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles d'Héracléopolis (1968)", *Or. Ant*, 14, 1975, p. 57-78, pl. 17-28.

(3) A. Roccati, "I Testi dei Sarcophagi di Eracleopoli", *Or. Ant*, 13, 1974, p. 161-197, pl. 4.

(4) J. Lopez, *Or. Ant*, 14, 1975, p. 57.

(5) M. Almagro et F. Presedo, "Les fouilles à Héracléopolis Magna (1976), *Acts of the First International Congress of Egyptology*, Cairo 1976 (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 14, Berlin 1979, p. 67-71) ; F. J. Presedo Velo, " Les dernières découvertes à Héracléopolis Magna", *Acts of the Ist ICE*, p. 525-532. Le rapport de ces campagnes de fouilles, rédigé par le professeur. Presedo, se trouve actuellement sous presse à Madrid.

Depuis 1984, nous avons repris les fouilles en collaboration avec Perez Die et avons commencé un nouveau sondage à l'ouest des fouilles de Lopez et Presedo[6]. La poursuite des fouilles à l'emplacement de ce nouveau sondage, en 1985 et 1986, nous a conduit à la découverte de deux nouveaux tombeaux, appartenant également à la Première Période Intermédiaire et dont nous avons poursuivi l'étude en 1988[7].

Les fouilles menées par Lopez et Presedo mirent au jour une nécropole près de la muraille méridionale d'Héracléopolis, dite "romaine" par Petrie[8]. Lorsque nous arrivâmes pour la première fois sur le chantier, nous pûmes constater l'important état de destruction de la nécropole, juste sous le rempart de briques crues : tous les tombeaux étaient en briques crues avec des stèles fausse-portes, à l'exception des trois tombeaux presqu'intacts découverts par Lopez et appartenant à Zaket, à sa femme Neferirout et à leur fils Harsaphesnakht. Cet ensemble comporte une chapelle commune destinée au culte funéraire des trois personnages. Celle-ci est également en pierre et possède trois stèles fausse-portes.

Le sondage, commencé en 1984 et continué par nous en 1985 et 1986 (sondage I), consiste en une tranchée stratigraphique perpendiculaire à la Muraille sud, située à l'ouest et à une certaine distance des fouilles de Lopez et Presedo (sondage C). A la fin des fouilles, cette tranchée avait atteint une longueur totale de 34 mètres dans le sens N-S[9] (fig.1). Rappelons que pendant les fouilles de 1984 nous avions trouvé

(6) J. Padro et M. C. Perez Die, "Travaux récents de la Mission Archéologique espagnole à Héracléopolis Magna", Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongress, München, 1985, II (*SAK, Beihefte* 2, Hamburg).

(7) Nous avons un devoir d'obligeance envers tous les membres de l'Organisation Egyptienne des Antiquités qui ont favorisé notre tâche et plus spécialement envers M. le Prof. Dr. Nur-el-din, ainsi qu'envers le Ministerio de Cultura espagnol, en la personne de Mme le Prof. Dr. Angeles Querol, Directrice du Département d'Archeologie et de Mme M. C. Perez Die, Directrice de la Mission Archéologique Espagnole en Egypte.

(8) Fl. Petrie, *Ehnâsya*, pl. 44.

(9) J. Padro, 'La Missió Aarqueològica Espanyola a Egipte : les excavations à Heracléopolis Magna", *Tribuna d'Arqueologia* 1987-1988, Barcelone 1988, p. 15-25.

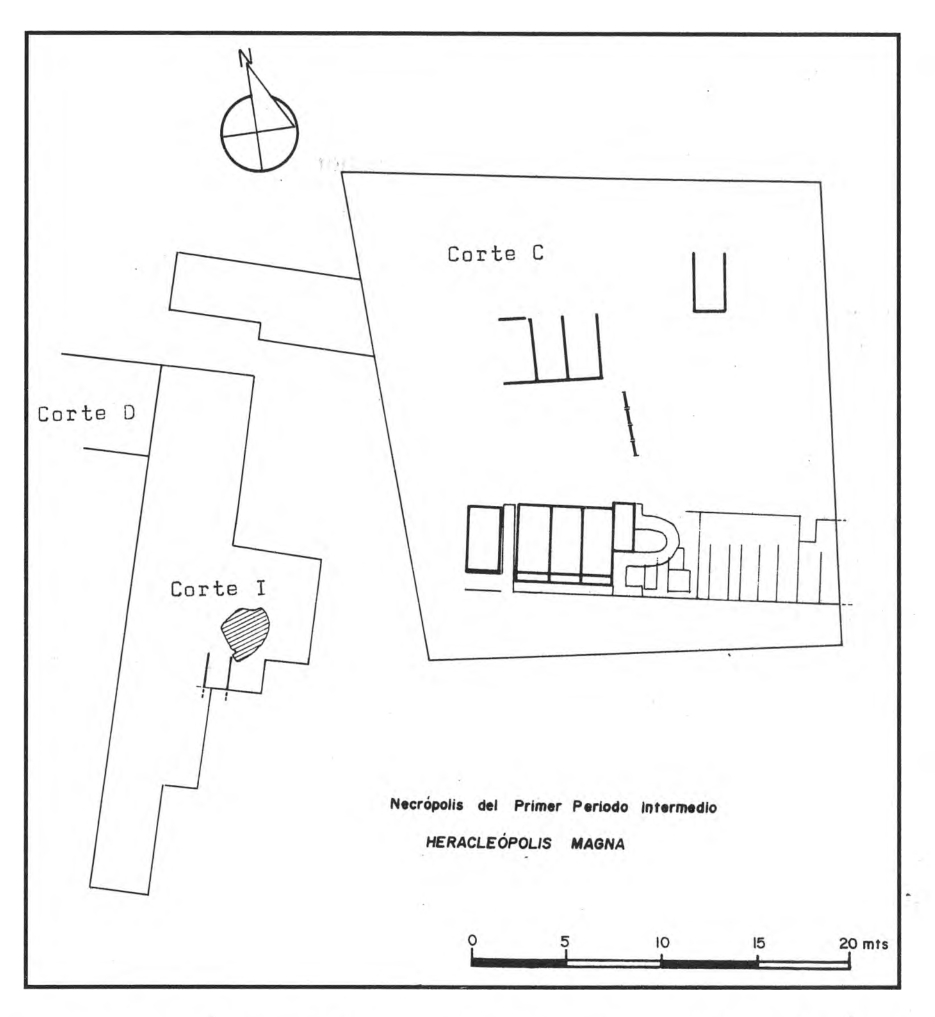


Fig. 1- Plan schématique de la nécropole héracléopolitaine de la Première Période Intermédiaire.

d'abord des sépultures sommaires que scellaient, après leur abandon, des maisons en briques crues ainsi que des silos peut-être à pain. Ces silos conservés sur plusieurs assises de briques crues, faisaient partie de la Muraille sud. Plus profondément et sous un niveau constitué de tombes à coupoles et de plan circulaire (également en briques crues), nous avons atteint le niveau de destruction de la nécropole. En effet, nous y avons trouvé de nombreux corps brulés dont l'un, portant des traces de momifcation, semble avoir été volontairement écrasé sous des pierres.

Durant la campagne de 1985, nous avons d'abord élargi le sondage I jusqu'à déboucher, à l'ouest, sur le sondage voisin D, sondage ouvert en 1977 par F. Fernandez qui avait, alors, mis au jour une construction d'époque avancée, en brique crue mais mêlée à des éléments en pierre provenant de portes et de colonnes. Nous avons pu ainsi fouiller un quartier de maisons parmi lesquelles s'ouvre une petite ruelle jouxtant la construction du sondage D. N'ayant pas encore procédé à la fouille de toutes les maisons, nous n'avons pas encore pu les dater. Parmi les trouvailles, signalons toutefois la présence de morceaux de scories légères et des poteries déformées qui prouvent la présence proche d'un four à céramique.

D'autre part, la poursuite de la fouille autour des nombreuses assises de briques crues qui font partie de la Muraille sud, nous a permis d'observer sa face intérieure et de constater l'importance de sa largeur : de sa face intérieure jusqu'au sommet du rempart, celle-ci mesure 25m de largeur ; la largeur totale doit mesurer entre 35 et 40m. Nous avons pu également constater que la muraille est plus ancienne que les tombeaux circulaires en briques crues car ceux-ci ont été adossés au rempart après que celui-ci ait été désaffecté. En fait, la Muraille sud repose directement sur le niveau de destruction de la Première Période Intermédiaire. Sa construction doit probablement dater du Moyen Empire.

Dans le secteur du sondage I, le niveau de destruction était signalé par l'apparition d'un nouveau tombeau datant de la Première Période Intermédiaire. Ce tombeau, en pierre, avait été soigneusement réduit en un amoncellement de blocs, dont un grand nombre est décoré de beaux reliefs polychromes représentant des scènes de porteurs d'offrandes, de processions de prêtres ou des scènes de la vie quotidienne, de représentations du propriétaire du tombeau, etc... Des lignes et des colonnes d'hiéroglyphes nous donnent les titres et le nom de celui-ci : *šḫw*.

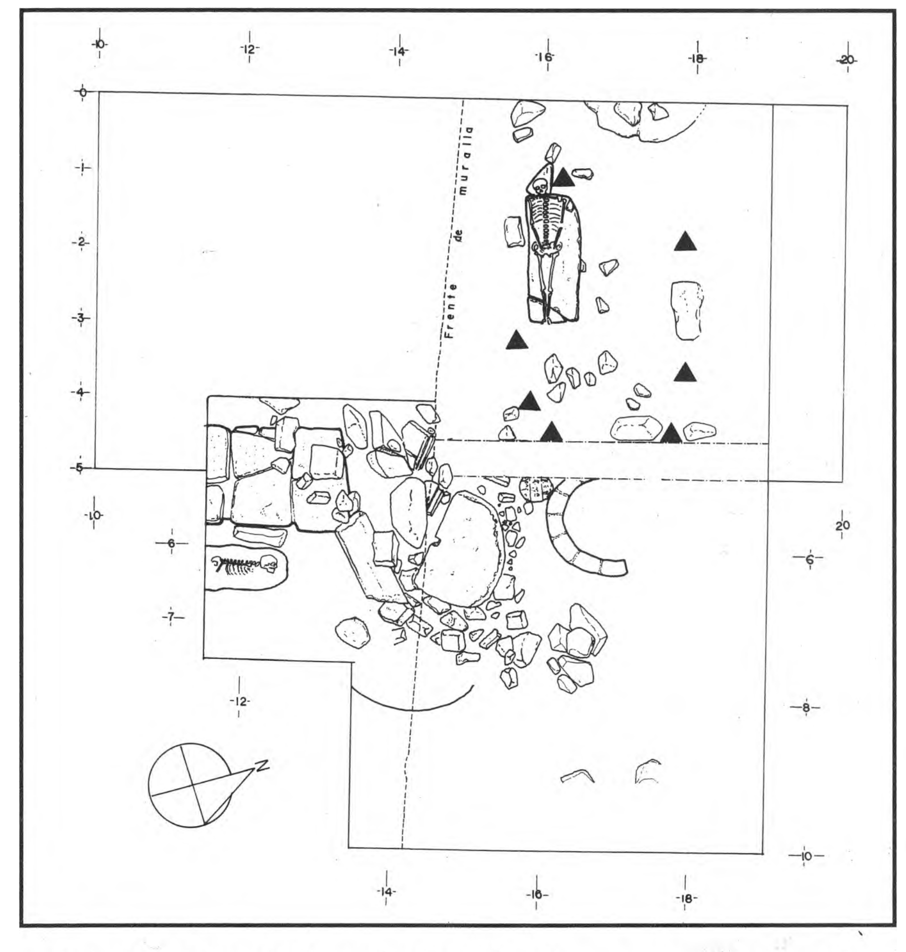


Fig. 2- Le niveau de destruction au sondage I avec, au centre, les restes du tombeau de Séhou. Les triangles noirs indiquent les points de trouvaille des restes humains brûlés.

Pour la campagne de 1986, nous nous sommes fixés deux objectifs : compléter la fouille de la tombe de Séhou et dater l'ensemble des maisons qui se trouvent au nord du sondage I.

La poursuite de la fouille de la tombe de Séhou a permis d'abord l'élargissement du sondage vers l'est, immédiatement au nord de l'imposante Muraille méridionale qui clôt le site archéologique de ce côté. Nous avons pu ainsi fouiller un niveau contenant quelques momies en très mauvais état et de datation incertaine ainsi qu'un niveau auquel se trouvaient des tombeaux circulaires en brique crue, identique à

celui qui fut détecté lors de la campagne de 1984. Puis, nous avons atteint les restes de la tombe de Séhou qui étaient situés directement sous la muraille et près d'une grande construction en brique qui fut, très probablement, un four à potier. Les vestiges de la tombe s'étendant encore sous la muraille, nous avons été amenés à élargir le sondage en direction du sud, ce qui nous a permis de découvrir un nouveau tombeau mieux conservé que celui de Séhou mais anépigraphe (cf. fig. 2).

Malheureusement, il nous manque de nombreux fragments de la tombe de Séhou qui doivent être encore éparpillés parmi les décombres de la nécropole, ce qui nous limite à des reconstitutions très partielles. Cependant, la qualité des inscriptions et des reliefs démontre le maintien, durant la Première Période Intermédiaire à Héracléopolis, du haut niveau artistique hérité de la tradition memphite de l'Ancien Empire (cf. fig. 3-4). Par ailleurs, de par le nombre de titres qu'il porte, Séhou devient le personnage le plus important découvert jusqu'ici dans la nécropole héracléopolitaine. Mais les gros blocs qui faisaient partie de sa tombe furent brutalement cassés un à un : les fractures nettes qu'ils présentent nous permettent de croire que la tombe, comme l'ensemble de la nécropole furent très vraisemblablement détruites lors de la chute de la ville entre les mains des Thébains. En effet, l'acharnement dans la destruction des blocs, de même que les traces évidentes de violation de cadavres découvertes en 1984, ne peuvent avoir été provoqués par de simples voleurs : il faut plutôt y voir le résultat des désastres de la guerre, analogues à ceux qui étaient évoqués et craints par le père du roi Mérikarê. Le tombeau de Séhou fut ainsi réduit à un amas important de pierres immédiatement recouvert par le début des travaux de construction de la Muraille sud ; l'excellent état de conservation des peintures et des reliefs prouve, en effet, qu'ils ne furent que très brièvement exposés à l'air.

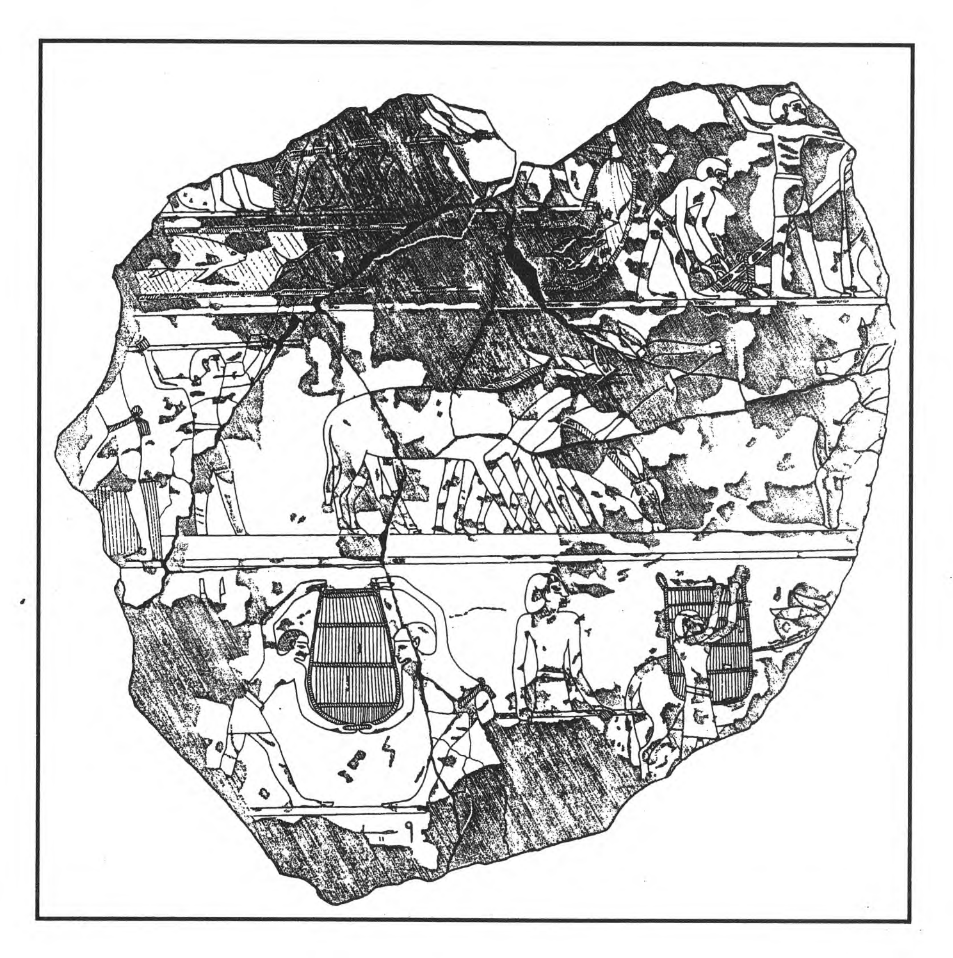


Fig. 3- Fragment décoré du tombeau de Séhou, avec des scènes de la vie champêtre.

Il est à souligner, encore, la grande étendue de cette nécropole héracléopolitaine, confirmée par la trouvaille de ces deux nouvelles tombes, et qui en fait doit s'étendre tout au long du sous-sol de la Muraille sud, ce qui justifierait l'élévation de la surface du terrain dans cette zone du site. La découverte toute récente par M[me] Pérez Die de nouveaux tombeaux d'époque héracléopolitaine sous la nécropole de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire en est une autre confirmation. Afin de résoudre le problème de la datation des maisons au nord du Sondage I en fouillant plus exhaustivement quelques unes des habitations trouvées (cf .Pl. I), nous avons élargi la fouille en direction du Nord et de l'Est. On y a trouvé quelques amphores phéniciennes *in situ*, dans l'habitation n°1, ce qui nous a permis de dater l'époque d'occupation de ces

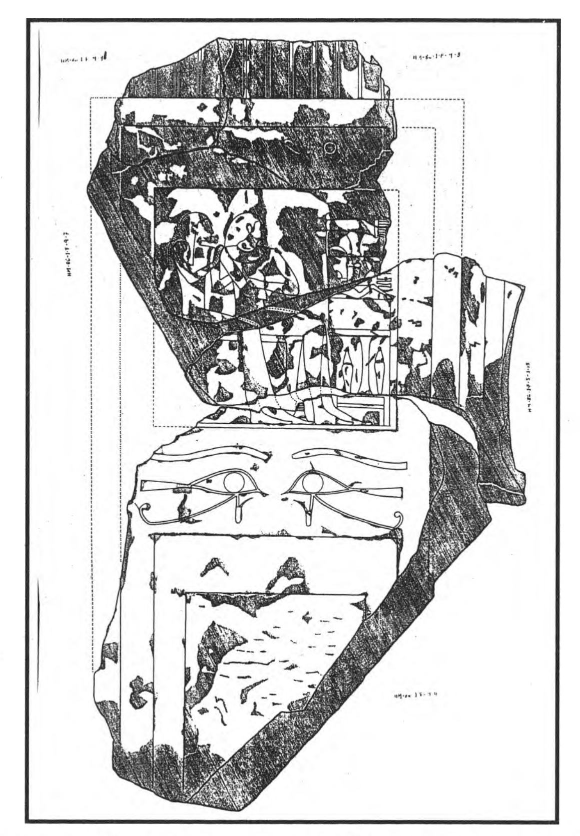


Fig. 4- Fragments décorés du tombeau de Séhou, avec les restes d'une stèle fausse-porte. Le maître et sa femme.

maisons à la Troisième Période Intermédiaire, aux environs des IXe / VIIIe siècles av. J-C. (fig. 5-6) D'autre part, ces amphores phéniciennes doivent être rapprochées des poteries de même origine mises au jour durant la campagne de 1984 dans une autre zone d'Héracléopolis, celle du sondage H, ce qui nous permet d'entrevoir l'importance du commerce phénicien en Egypte durant l'époque libyenne, ainsi que l'importance de cette ville qui, bien que située en Moyenne Egypte, était capable d'entretenir des rapports commerciaux avec les Phéniciens[10]. La datation de ces maisons de l'époque libyenne a, en outre, été confirmée par les amulettes saïtes trouvées dans certains tombeaux sommaires aménagés entre les murs des maisons

(10) J. Padro, *ASAE* 71, 1987, p. 219.

abandonnées. En résumé, l'époque romaine, à laquelle fut attribuée à plusieurs reprises la date de ces niveaux, doit être abandonnée de même que pour la Muraille méridionale.

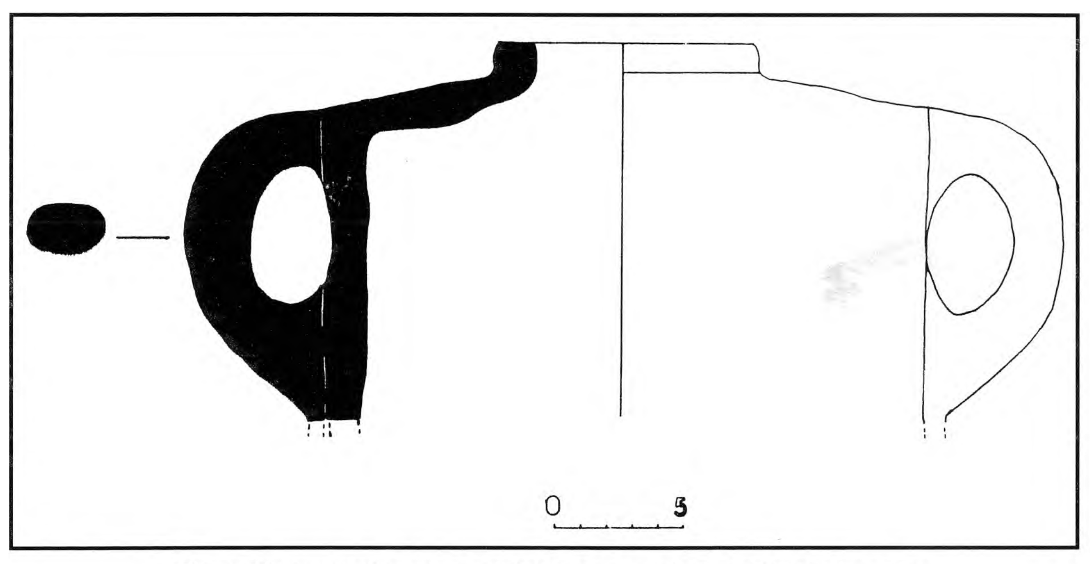


Fig. 5- Fragment d'amphore phénicienne trouvé dans l'habitation N° 1.

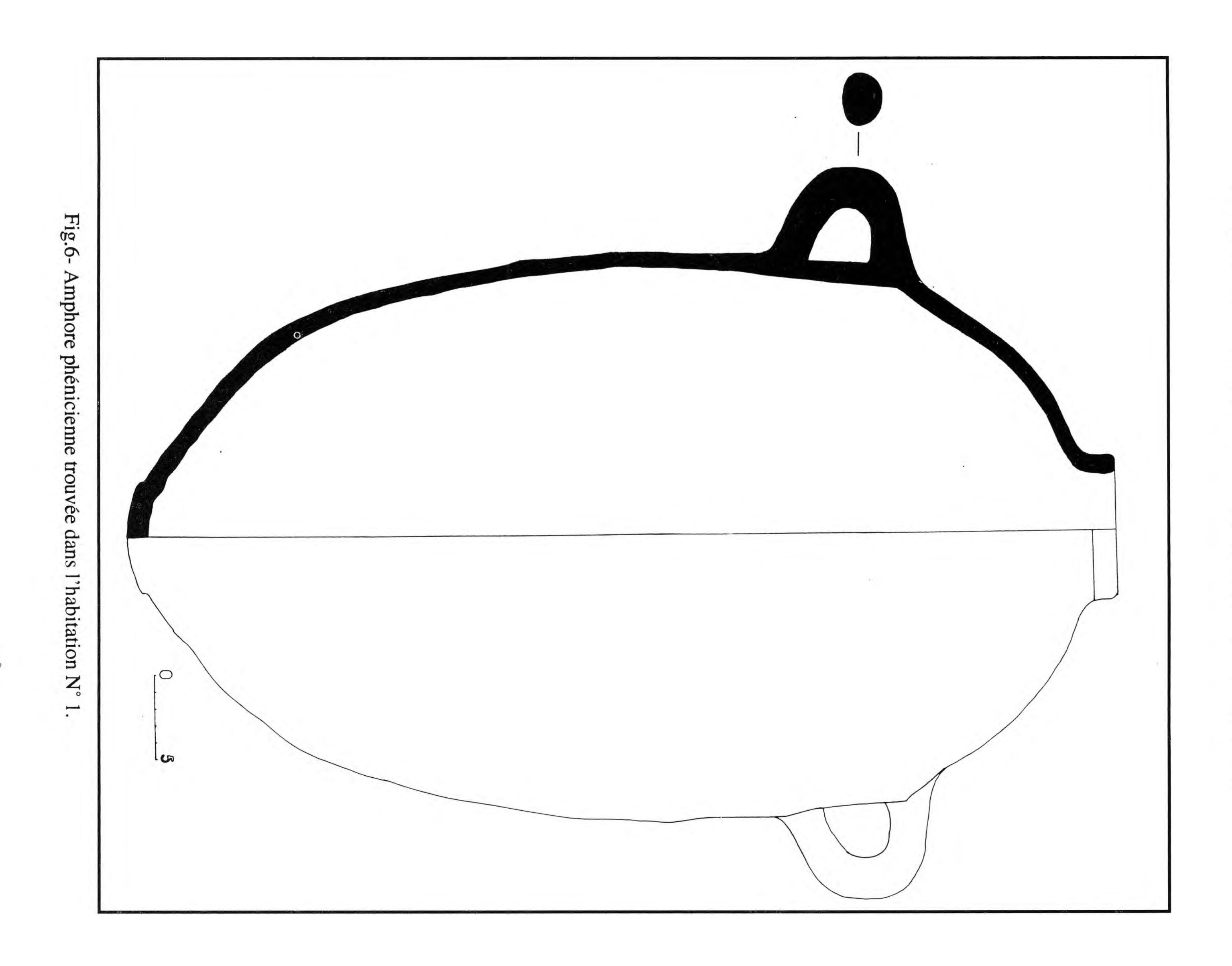
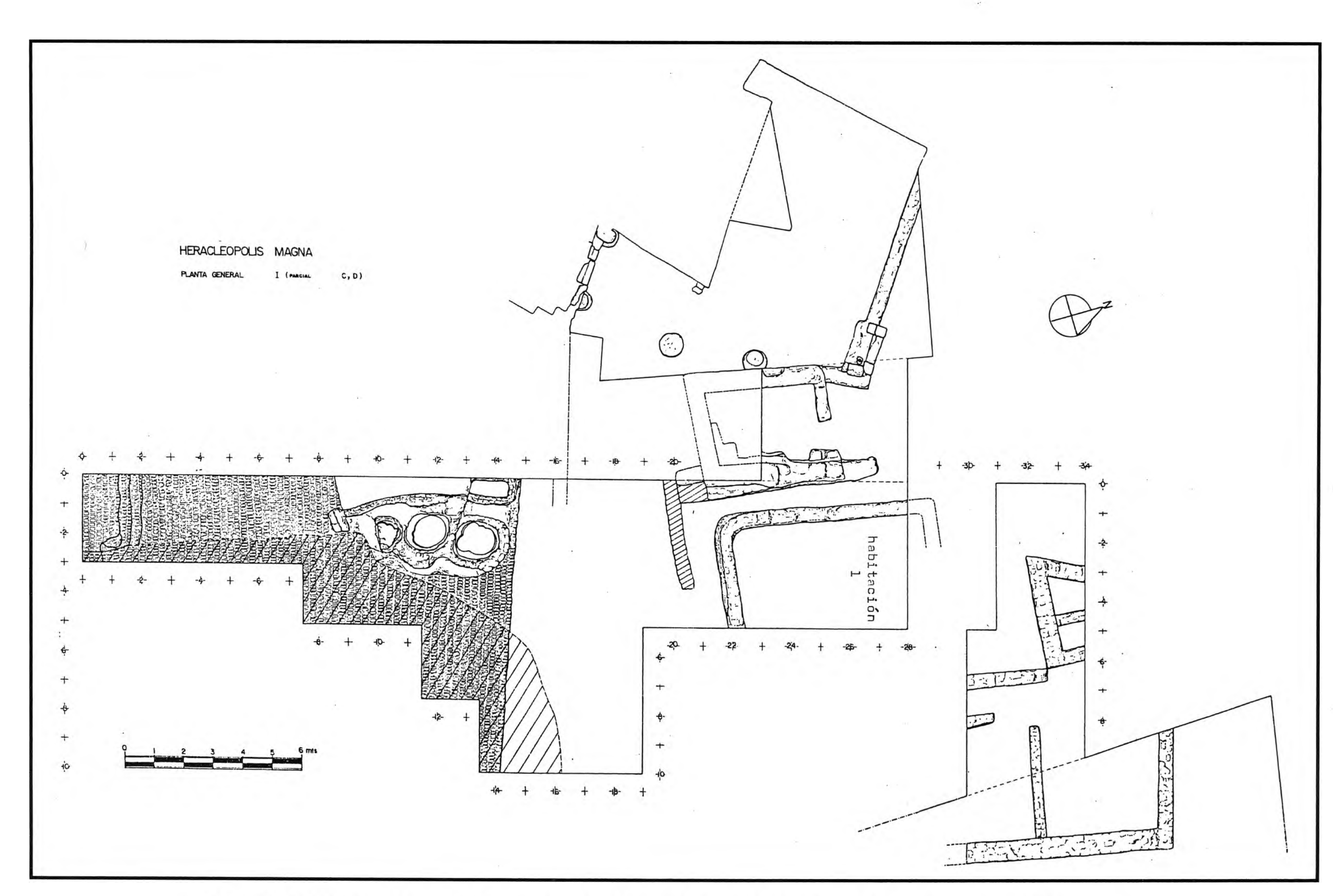


Fig.6- Amphore phénicienne trouvée dans l'habitation N° 1.



Plan général des sondages D et I, montrant au Nord le quartier de maisons en briques crues de l'époque libyenne, et au Sud les assises de briques de la Muraille Méridionale, avec quelques fours sur celles-ci.

PL.I

THE EARLY RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN EGYPT AND PALESTINE

Antonio PEREZ-LARGACHA

Publications about the cultures of Maadi, Merimde[1] , Heliopolis[2] and Qustul[3]; research in Southern Sinai, Palestine and Syria, have added new data for the knowledge of the unification of Egypt and its early relationship with Palestine. I will try to show the nature of these relations during the end of the Predynastic period and the beginning of the First Dynasty. The evidence of trade between Egypt and Syria-Palestine had been studied in different ways ; such as to explain penetrations of foreign people in Egypt, as support of different theories of the unification of Egypt and, recently, to determine the nature of the egyptian presence in Palestine during the First Dynasty. There are two aspects to consider : The role of Palestine in the contacts between Egypt and Mesopotamia through Syrian intermediaries and the presence of Egypt in Palestine during the First Dynasty or even before.

THE ROLE OF PALESTINE IN THE CONTACTS BETWEEN EGYPT AND MESOPOTOMIA

The excavations in the north of Syria (Habuba Kabira, Jebel Aruda can be the link betwen Uruk- Jemdet Nasr and Tell Kannas), and the expansion of the Uruk culture to Northern Mesopotamia, may confirm that the Mesopotamian influences arrived to Egypt through Northern Syria.

Mesopotamian cultural features, present in Predynastic and Early Dynastic period in Egypt, can be found also in Northern Syria in the Fourth Millenium. For example

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(1) J. Einwanger, " Merimde Benisalame" I, *DAIK* 47, 1984 ; II , *DAIK* 60, 1988.

(2) F. Debono, and B. Mortensen, "The Predynastic Cemetery of Heliopolis", *DAIK* 63, 1988.

(3) B. Willians, " Excavations Between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier I : The A Group-Royal Cemetery at Qustul, Cemetery L." *OINE* IV, 1986.

the glyptic of Jebel Aruda[4] can be the link between Uruk - Jemdet Nasr and Egypt and, in the temples of Tell Kannas[5], the structures of Habuba Kabira etc., we can see the recessed paneled facade.

Regarding to the route followed in the contacts between Egypt and Northern Syria, the glyptic evidence favours a northerly route across land, and only latterly, by sea to Egypt from the Lebanese coast[6] and not by the route from Lower Mesopotamia, round Arabia, up the Red Sea and along Wadi Hammamat.

Byblos that was in contact with neolithic Egypt[7] and with Amuq, could be an intermediate between Syria and Egypt in the Fourth millennium.

The research of Oren[8] between the Eastern Delta and Southern Palestine, reveal the existence of a great concentration of small settlements, which do not seem to have been permanently occupated. According to Miroschedji[9] these settlements must be interpretated as periodical campments of human groups whose movements and way of life were similar, in general items, to the semitic groups of the First Intermediate Period or modern Beduins, and, these groups were the first intermediates between Egypt and Palestine. In my opinion, these settlements could have had a double function :

a) according to Oren report, the settlements are normally located according to regional winds, and this may indicate that its functions were to serve as refuge for the coasting-trade from Lebanese coast to Egypt ;

(4) G. Van Driel, "Seals and Seilings from Jebel Aruda", *Akkadika* 33, 1983, p. 34-62.

(5) A. Finet, Les temples sumériens du Tell Kannas", *Syria* 52, 1974, p. 157-74.

(6) B. Teissier, " Glyptic evidence for a connection between Iran, Syro-Palestine and Egypt in the Fourth and Third Millenia", *Iran* 25, 1987, p. 27-54.

(7) K. Prag, " Byblos and Egypt in the Fourth Millenium," *Levant* 18, 1986, p. 56-74.

(8) E. Oren, "The Overland Route between Egypt and Canaan in the Early Bronze Age", *IEJ* 23, 1973, p.198-205.

(9) P. Miroschedji, " Céramique et mouvements de population: le cas de la Palestine au IIIe millénaire avant notre ère", in *A propos des interprétations archéologiques de la poterie : Questions ouvertes*, Paris 1986, p. 10-46

b) at the beginning of the First Dynasty, with the intensification of commercial ties, they were integrated in the trade route from Egypt to Palestine sites.

On the other hand, in Palestine there is an amazing dearth of evidence for Mesopotamian data. According to Beck[10] Egypt acted as an intermediary in the transmission of Mesopotamian glyptic into the Levant, but the evidence of only one seal impression, joined to the fact that all seals and stamps from Arad were made of local chalk is contrary to this theory.

In conclusion there are many aspects that may prove that relationship of Egypt with the northern of Syria followed the coastal route and that the influences or contacts of Palestine with the north were indirect .

Recently, Uruk materials, as clay noils, have been found in Buto.[11] In the preliminary report, the discoveries are compared to classical Uruk materials, but their comparison with material cultures of North Syria and Mesopotamia may offer more data about the role of Uruk in the raise of Egyptian state in the fourth millennium.

THE PRESENCE OF EGYPT IN PALESTINE DURING THE FIRST DYNASTY AND BEFORE

Relations between Egypt and the Sinai, Palestine and Syria before Nagada II are difficult to document archaeologically. In Nagada II there is a rising of relationship, and it is possible that the wish to controls this trade could be the main reason for the expansion of Upper Egypt cultures towards the North and, consequently, the fall of Maadi culture. The raising of centers as Minshat Abu Omar can be related to this fact, which would also cause an acceleration of the Egyptian unification process (Nagada II c-d).

In the last period of Nagada (II c-d and III) culture, we can see a raising in these settlements of Eastern Delta. Recently, the research of C. Edwin and van der Brink,[12] point out the possibility that along the Pelusian branch, there had been settlements whose finality was to control the " Way of Horus" in the Archaic period, but it is possible that it existed already in the final phase of Predynastic Period.

(10) P. Beck, " The Seals and Stamps of Early Arad ", *Tell Aviv* 11, 1984, p. 97-114

(11) T. Van der Way, "Tell el Farain - Buto Bericht", *MDAIK* 43, 1986, p. 241-57

(12) "A Geoarchaeological Survey in the North-Eastern Nile Delta ", *MDAIK* 43, 1987, P. 7-31.

Until some years ago, nothing was known about the presence of Egypt in Palestine at the Predynastic Period. Egyptian artefacts appear sporadically during the Chalcolithic period in Palestine. However, recent excavations in Tell Erani[13] have proved an Egyptian presence in the final phase of Egyptian Predynastic. So before the First Dynasty, the Egyptian presence could be scanty in Northern and central Palestine but important in Southern Palestine.

Consequently, the relations between Egypt and Palestine at the beginning of Dynasty 1, stemmed from the close ties which were formed in the Predynastic Period, when both, the sea and land routes to Syria - Palestine were fully open. The importance and extent of these contracts are proved by the Palestinian pottery findings in Qustul, where even have been found shapes not yet known from Egypt[14].

In Southern Sinai, that is very important in order to know the character of the relations between Egypt and Palestine in the EB II, Egyptian artifacts and presence are very scanty until the III dynasty. Recently, it has been pointed out that the orientation of Nawamis entrances of Southern Sinai can reflect Egyptian burial beliefs during the late fourth millennium[15]. However, Egyptian materials are very scanty in Southern Sinai until the Third Dynasty and the possibility that Egypt transmitted burial beliefs is unlikely.

At the beginning of the First Dynasty a drastic change occurs and in some sites (en Besor, Tell Erani) there are strata where about 90 % of the ceramic is Egyptian. Some Egyptologists deduced an Egyptian rule in Palestine with this archaeological evidence, while others thought that the relations were based on trade.

In this study we think that contacts depended only on trade. The main reason, among others, is that the city of Arad controlled the exploitation of copper mines in Southern Sinai, and if Palestine or only Southern Palestine were under Egyptian rule, the logical situation would be that Egypt controlled the copper resources. Furthermore, in any site of Palestine can be found an Egyptian weapons (the date and character of tools and weapons of Kfar Monash is controversial). Three are the

(13) A. Kempinski and I. Gilead, "Tell Erani 1987", *IEJ* 38,1988, p. 88-90.

(14) B. Willians, *o.c.*

(15) O. Bar-Yasef, I. Hershkovitz, A. Gideon and G. Avner, "The Orientation of Nawamis Entrances in Southern Sinai; Expression of Religious Beliefs and sensonality ?" , *Tell Aviv* 10, 1983, p. 52-60.

main Palestinian centers for the study of relations between Egypt and Palestine : Arad, En Bassor and Tell Erani.

Tell Erani

The conclusions of Yeivin that the strata V represents a short time span of Egyptian domination at the beginning of the First Dynasty, must be excluded. The study of Weinstein[16] showed clearly the weakness of Yeivin's theory and recent excavations of Kempinski and Gilead[17] have proved that the Egyptian presence could have been even before the First Dynasty and that this presence did not appear so suddenly as Yeivin believed.

En Bassor

The date of some Egyptian artifacts found in this site, specially the Egyptian seal impressions, are problematic[18] Shulman dates most of them to the reign of Den. However, the iconography of the *ka*-arms and the human postures suggests an earlier date. Moreover, the *serekh* that, according to Schulman[19], belongs to Den, may be belonging to Hor-Aha.

The role of En Bassor in the relations between Egypt and Palestine, may be determinated by the Egyptian residence of the First Dynasty[20].

The place of construction of this residency is very important because from it the Egyptians controlled the springs, and this, together with the function of the residence may explain some aspects of the relationships in this period. The Egyptian seal impressions belong to sealing bags and sacks of grain, fruit and the like . According

(16) J. Weinsten, " The Significance of Tell Areini for Egyptian-Palestinian Relations at the Beginning of the Bronze Age", *BASOR* 256, 1984, p. 61-70.

(17) " Tel Erani 1987", *IEJ* 38, 1988, p. 88-90.

(18) A. Schulman, "The Egyptian Seal Impression from " En Bassor", *Atiqot* 11, p. 16-26, 1985, p.9-16.

(19) *Ibid.*

(20) R. Gophna and D. Garit, "The First Dynasty Egyptian Building at En Bassor", *Tell Aviv* 12, 1985, p. 9-16

to Schulman[21], the sealings belonged to officials *"dispatching provisions from Egypt in sealed bags for the use of the Egyptian stationed at En Bassor or passing through this staging post"*. The interpretation of Schulman can be right. Most of the studies speak about the goods Egypt imported from Palestine, but not about the goods Egypt exported. In my opinion, the fact that the sealings of En Bassor belonged to seal bags and sacks of grain may indicate that Egypt paid with agricultural goods the products from Palestine.

Arad

The relations between Egypt and Arad must be considered from the point of view of exploitation of copper mines of Sinai which were controlled by Arad[22]. A new data about the nature of Arad-Egypt relations are the three serekhs of Narmer found in Tell Malhata and the nature of this site [23]. Tell Malhata seems to be an intermediate or staging post in the copper trade between Southern Sinai and Arad. This function and the finding of Narmer Serekhs support that Egyptian Palestinian relations were commercial.

The relationships between Egypt and Palestine seems to have its roots in the Predynastic Period. There is Egyptian evidence from this period in Northern Sinai and in the coastal plain of Palestine (Tell Erani), while it is scanty in other places.

Until Nagada II c-d, the relationships between Egypt and Palestine must be interpreted as normal, and as Debono and Mortensen[24] said, the North of Egypt , the Delta region, the Sinai and Southern Palestine was therefore probably a unit.

It is with the raising of the Upper Egypt cultures, when the nature of relationships changes, and in Egypt as a state, increases its presence in Palestine. This is the reason why Egyptian artifacts are very abundant.

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(21) "More Egyptian Seal impressions from En Bassor", *Atiqot* 14, 1980, p. 33.

(22) R. Amiran, *Early Arad. The Chalcolithic Settlement and the Early Bronz City* , Isreal Exploration Society,1978.

(23) O. Amiran, R. ilan and C. Arnon "Excavations at small Tel Malhata; Three Narmer Serekhs", *IMJ* 2, 1983, p. 75-83.

(24) F. Debono and B. Mortensen, *o.c.*

THE SAITIC STATUES OF THE MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE IN NAPLES

Rosanna PIRELLI

The Egyptian Collection of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples includes about eighty statues, thirty seven of which date back to the Pharaonic period.

A Part from the two naophorous statues of *wꜣḥ-ib-Rꜥ Mry-nt* (of the Farnese Collection) and *Pwrm* (of the Casanova Collection), all the statues were collected by Cardinale Borgia in the second half of the 18[th] century and were placed in Borgia Museum of Velletri.

It is interesting to note that almost all of them belong to dynasties the capitals of which were situated in the Delta; it was in fact very difficult for 18[th] century travelers to reach Upper Egypt. The only exception is represented by two statuary groups of the XIX[th] dynasty coming from Thebes : the funerary monument of *Ỉmn-m-ỉnt* and the family group of *Pꜣ-n-dwꜣ* , with his wife *Nꜣšꜥ* and their son *Ỉmn-m-ipt.*

As to the state of preservation, not all the statues are complete, some are fragmentary, others damaged, but many of them are well preserved and of high quality.

The materials are various, including limestone, diorite, schistus, sandstone, basalt and granite. Even if the *Guide Catalogue* (in print these days)[1] is the first complete publication of the Collection, many statues are already known to scholars especially those interested in the Saitic period and are often mentioned in monographies on late sculpture. These statues are also interesting for the study another aspect of the exhibition which has, as my colleagues wrote it, not only Egyptological and the influences ot the cultural background, "taste", and opportunities of the collectors could have had in the formation and preservation of cotself, and consequently also in the kind of information Europeans received about Ancient Egypt visiting the first Egyptological collections.

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(1) *I.e.* November 1988.

There are several reasons to consider the Saitic group of statues as being, to some extent, representative of both aspects of the exhibition ; first of all, although fragmentary, these statues are high quality, and thus well readable ; secondly, they are numerous and typologically various ; finally, they belong to a period in which for a complex series of reasons, aroused a particular production, that is "realistic statues", which have been the object of various and not final discussions.

The purpose of the following pages is to examine their main features and to repropose briefly Professor Barocas stimulating theory on this particular artistic production.

Dealing with saitic statues, one must keep in mind the sharp distinction between royal and private sculpture. Royal "portraiture" which had always been the model for private statues, becomes more and more standardized ; even if we don't have many royal statues from this period, we know that the style is always very similar, the stone is often basalt or schistus, the surfaces very polished, attitude and expression fixed.

The main innovation of private sculpture is, on the contrary, the introduction of an individual characterization beside the social one, which was in the past the predominant element in Egyptian statuary. The results of this innovation was the so called "realistic" sculpture, one of the main peculiarities of the Saitic period, which however went on together with the more usual kind of representation[2].

The National Museum of Naples fortunately has got both kinds of sculptures, each represented by more than one specimen. Of the thirteen statues of the XXVth and XXVIIth dynasty[3] (including the naophorus statue of the Farnese Collection), four are "realistic" (inv. 987, 980, 388, s.n.); the others include: one shaven head (inv. 389), two naophorus statues (one kneeling, inv. 1066, and one standing, inv. 1063), one

(2) C. Barocas, "Les statues réalistes et l'arrivée des Perses dans l'Egypte Saite" in *Studi in onore di G. Tucci, Gururajamanjarika,* I.U.O., Napoli 1974, p. 151.

(3) Today, we have not yet all the elements to make a sharp distinction between the production of the two dynasties and it is often difficult to give the pieces a definaite chronological collocation : cf. the description of the statue, inv. n° 980 below.

archaizing[4] standing statuette (inv. 383), one kneeling statuette (inv. 985), three "busts" of officials (inv. 382, 390 and 634) and one royal statue (inv. 1072).

Before describing some of these statues, some remarks about the collectionistic aspect should be made ; of the thirteen statues, eight are heads or "busts" detached from the body ; of the remaining five, only three have still got their heads. The most interesting aspect is however that almost all the bodiless statues have been integrated to appear like "busts" or at least, if this have not been possible, their broken surfaces have been carefully polished to make the sculpture to appear like a complete and not a broken statue (for example inv. 388).

If the latter intervention is justifiable with the desire of showing "beautiful objects" without imperfections, the use of making "busts" from Egyptian statues deserves a deeper attention. We have in fact three possible kinds of operations :

1) the body was cut to appear like a bust (inv. 980 and 382);

2) a new bust was modeled with the same or a similar stone to integrate the missing part (inv. 987 and 634) ;

3) the removal of the back pillar which I have observed on three statues of the collection (two of which are ptolemaic) can be interpreted as evidence of the same attitude.

Now we know that the busts are not among the forms of Egyptian statuary, why then did 18th century collectioners used it ?

Professor Barocas gives an answer to this questions[5]. According to him, this work was an attempt to create something which reflected classic models. Eighteenth century collectioners used to change statues which were "too Egyptian"—*i.e.* which were not completely comprehensible for them—into busts or "portraits", thus giving life to an artistic production that was more familiar to them and already accepted by the European taste. As Barocas says : "A la fin de l'opération. les statues devaient perdre le plus possible d'égyptien et gagner le plus possible de gréco-romain"[6].

(4) The term "archaizing" is used following Bothmer's distinction between "archaistic" and "archaizing", cf. B.von Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, New York 1960, p. 37.

(5) C. Barocas, *o.c.*, p. 119.

(6) *Ibid.*

This theory of fundamental interest for the reconstruction of the history of Egyptology, is even more important for the study of Egyptian sculpture of the Late Period. It stimulates in fact deeper reflections about the reading of private statuary. In fact, if, as Barocas says, many of the heads were intentionally detached from their bodies—which were "too Egyptian", we should think that this production was not the issue of an aesthetic attitude influenced by the coming of strangers to Egypt and liable to be considered the model of Greco-Roman portraiture[7], but that it is on the contrary a "fully Egyptian" answer to a completely changed situation. We should at this point remember that the "realism" of the "portraits" does not appear for the first time during the Saitic period, but that it is found in other moments of Egyptian history. Two enlightening instances are : 1) the "portraites" of the XIIth dynasty, a period in which we notice the first great change in the image of the king from purely ideological to political[8] ; 2) the "portraits" of the Amarnian period, during which Akhenaton tries to carry the evolution of kingship (started at the XVIIIth dynasty) to its extreme point, thus breaking the social and political balance which had supported the pharaonic State until that moment ; balance which the Egyptians tried to restore soon after his death, but which was strongly influenced by such a redical experience. Arguing from analogy, we should find for the Saitic period an equally important turning point. This can be located, according to Professor Barocas, in a changed situation, where Egypt opens up to Mediterranean Sea and is involved with its economic reality. The traditional privileged classes, although maintaining their status, do not feel represented by the state—in the person of the Pharaoh—anymore, as they realize that Egypt's commercial policy is now more oriented towards the foreign rather than internal resources, and as a consequence some of their former privileges are now taken over by traders and mercenary soldiers from abroad. Hence they refuse to subordinate their image (social as well as iconographic) to that of the king, and look for alternative solutions, among which the "realistic" artistic production. This "new art" is formally upon strictly Egyptian artistic modes of expression. I am

(7) B. von Bothmer, *o.c.*, p. 33; C. Barocas remarks that the motivations of the birth of "portrait" have been widely discussed by R. Bianchi Bandinelli (see C. Barocas *o.c.*, p. 9,n. 19) and that they are not present in Egypt.

(8) C. Barocas, *L'Antico Egitto, Ideologia e lavoro nella terra dei Faraoni,* Roma 1978.

going to describe now only some of the statues, one for each most representative category, *i.e* the royal statue, inv. 1072 ; the naophorus statue, inv.1068 ; the bust-like cut statue, inv. 980 ; the bust-like modeled statue, inv. 987 ; the kneeling statuette, inv. 985.

1- Royal statue inv.1072. Basalt ; fragmentary : only the upper part is preserved. Height : 67,5 cm. Width : 19 cm.

It represents a seated pharaoh wearing a mantel held to the breast by the right hand, the left hand holding a scepter and wearing a "bag" headdress with an uraeus on the forehead. The eyes are decorated with the usual cosmetic lines. Unfortunately the fragmentary state of the statues make it difficult to enjoy its formal perfection and polished workmanship. Furthermore the lack of the nose and the mouth makes it difficult to date it precisely. The headdress and the kind of maquillage—present in many periods in Egyptian art—are more frequent, during the Late Period, in the XXIIth dynasty, the statue actually resembles some statues of Osorkon II ; but the choice of the material, the polished surfaces are nearer to the style of the XXVIth dynasty during which that headdress and maquillage are also frequent[9].

2 - The naophorus statue of *wꜣḥ-ib-Rꜥ Mry-nt* is a 97,5 cm high basalt naophorus with a base of 7,5 cm width and 56,6 cm length.

Light scratches are scattered on the surfaces ; the nose is just chipped. It represents a kneeling man on a parallelepiped base, wearing a short kilt with groves and a bag wig falling on the shoulders and leaving the ears free. The face is oval-shaped ; eyebrows are naturalistic rendered, without relief lines ; the cheekbones are low, the cheeks full ; the torso is accurately modeled and decorated with a pendent in the form of a Hathor head. The man holds a naos, with an image of Osiris, on his knees. The mummiform god wears an *ꜣtf*-crown and holds the *ḥkꜣ*-scepter and the flagellum.

The back-pillar is inscribed with the Saitic formula on two columns:

1) *Oh Town-god of the Noble, of the Prince, Royal seal-bearer, (close) friend* (of the king), *Leader of the House of the two crowns, Horus-Priest, Leader of the Dep-district, Superintendent to the seals, wꜣḥ-ib-Rꜥ Mry-nt, son of Tꜣ-krnt,*

(9) K. Bosse. "Die menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik der Ägyptischen Spatzeit von der XXII. bis zur XXX. Dynastie", *Äg. Forsch.* 1, 1936, p. 79, n. 222, pl. XII.

2) *put yourself behind him, while his Ka is in front of him, that his feet be not stopped, that his heart be not repelled. He is an Heliopolitan !*

The Saitic statue of *wꜣḥ-ỉb-Rꜥ Mry-nt* has also been object of an original interpretation by Athanasius Kircher, who drew the statue and copied its text in the second half of the 17th century. He thought it dealt with an image of Isis, holding a canopic deity, while his translation was very far from the reality because Kircher did not know, of course, the Egyptian language and did not copy the hieroglyphics with precision[10].

Very interesting also is the decorating function the statue had in the Farnese Palace where it was considered a furnishing object and thus placed in the Palace Hall.

3 - Statue of an official ; black granite ; it has been cut under the breast, where the surface has been polished. A light scratch, which, starts from the right eyebrow, obliquely crosses the face and arrives on the left arm. The sizes are 38,3 cm high; 33 cm width.

The statue represents an official with naked torso. A large rectangular pendant decorates the breast. The man wears an archaizing wig, very common in the Middle Kingdom. It is sleek, leaves the ears free and ends with pointed bands on the sides of the neck ; its outline is barely contoured on the forehead.

The man has an oval-shaped face with wide jaw, the protruding arches form with the nose and the high and bulging cheekbones, triangular cavities where the eyes, delimitated by relieved rims, are set. The eyes have crow's feet on the outer edges and are stressed by large bags. The forehead is marked by worry lines. The nose is aquiline, the mouth little and marked by double chin. The arms are along the torso, the breast protruding.

As we have seen, the face is marked by the individual characterization of the Saitic period. According to the Stylistic and analysis of Bothmer[11], many elements go back to the beginning of the XXVIth dynasty but, according to the same author, the lack of demarcation of the wig and the big pendant do not appear before the XXVIIth dynasty[12].

(10) A. Kircher, *Aedypus Aegyptiacus*, 3, Romae 1654, p. 495-496.

(11) B. von, Bothmer, *o.c.*, p. 24.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 75.

4 - Statue of an official. Red granite ; it has been integrated by an eighteenth century restoration. The original part arrives under the base of the neck and, on the back, at the base of the wig. The restoration, which on the fore part shows a circular pendant, makes the fragment bust-shaped ; its size are : 19 cm high ; 15 cm width.

The statue represents an official with bag wig which leaves the ears free. The wide and square face is marked by numerous wrinkles, has bags under the eyes and the double chin. The eyes are delimited by thin relieved rims. The back pillar with flat top terminates at 1/3 of the wig. On the two remaining horizontal inscribed lines we can read : "*the honoured by Thot and Neith, the Royal seal-bearer* (...)". According to Bothmer[13], the style of our style of our statue has a close parallel in the Cairo statue of Psammetik-sa-Neith, which has the same rendering of the face and the strong individual characterization of the "realistic" Saitic style. He dates both the statues to the XXVIIth dynasty, on the base of some arguments, such as the buttonhole eye of the Cairote statue. I prefer, for the over-exposed reasons, maintaining the more general definition of Saitic period.

5 - Kneeling statuette of *Pꜣ-šry-n-mwt*, green schist ; numerous light scratches are scattered on the surfaces. The right arm had been integrated from the elbow to the wrist, the left from half arm to half forearm. Both restorations have been taken away by nowadays restoration ; its sizes are : 30 cm high ; 18,8 cm width.

It represents a kneeling official on a rectangular base with anterior smoothed corners ; he is holding a scarab on his knees. The man wears a bag wig which leaves the ears free and makes side whiskers. It terminates on the nape of the neck. The face is oval-shaped, the eyes, almond-shaped and delimited by thin relieved rims, fall towards the outer corners; the arches are united by the line of the nose. The mouth is little and fleshy. The wide torso is crossed by a median line which goes from the relieved clavicula to the navel. The man wears a short folded kilt with a high belt. The back-pillar with a cut-off cusp carries a vertical hieroglyphic inscription with the name of "*the honoured by Wsir, Pꜣ-šry-n-mwt, son of pꜣ-dỉ-shddt*". Along the base a horizontal line of hieroglyphics is incised with the *htp-di-nswt* formula, dedicated to

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 79.

Osiris, for *P3-šry-n-mwt*, born by *T3-hrt.* The style and the onomastica[14], makes it possible to date it to the end of the Saitic period.

(14) M. Thirion, "Notes d'onomastique. Contribution à une révision de Ranke PN", *RdE* 37, 1986.

THE TOMB OF AMENMESSE (KV.10) : THE FIRST SEASON

Otto J. SCHADEN and Earl ERTMAN

The University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition (UAEE) initiated a study of the tomb of king Amenmesse (Dyn. XIX, n° 10 in the Valley of the Kings) with a brief exploratory season during the period of 31 December 1992 throught 13 January 1993[1].

(1) For the pertinent bibliography, Cf. PM, TB, II2 , pp. 517-518. Most extensive publication is that of E. Léfébure, *Les hypogees royaux de Thebes*, Paris 1889, p, 81-85 and pls. 55-57. Cf. also E. Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis* of *Thebes*, Priceton 1966, p. 110-111 and N. Reeves, Valley *of the Kings*, London 1990, p. 104-105. O. Schaden, " Some observations on the Tomb of King Amenmesse" is scheduled to appear in the *Festschrift honouring Prof. Hans Goedicke (in press)*. Report by UAEE staff dealing with the first season in KV-10 include a brief summary of our post-season to the EAO by Schaden in *NARCE* (in press) and an article by Ertman to appear in *KMT* in the summer of 1993., and epigraphic investigation of KV-10 could add considerably to our present state of knowledge on one of the major monuments of that era and also shed some much needed light on Amenmesse and the late Dyn. XIX in general.

Special thanks are due to Dr. Mohammed Bakr (then chairman) and the members of the High Permanent Committe of the EAO. M. Mutawa Balbouch, then Dr. Mohammed El-Saghir, General Director of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, likewise merits our thanks. In Luxor, the chief Inspector of Upper Egypt, and the General Director of the West Bank, Dr. El-Sayed Hegazy, were most kind and generous in their assistance. Our inspector, Yahia Abd el-Latif, was also most helpful. Edwin Brock, director of the Canadian Institute in Egypt and co-director of our expedition, handled our liaison and paperwork with the *EAO* most efficiently and also furnished some of the gear necessary for our work. Prof. Donald Ryan of Pacific Lutheran University also allowed us to borrow from his stores in Gurna. Chicago House director, Dr. Peter Dorman, kindly permitted us the use of their darkroom and their photographer, Cecile Keefe, graciously introduced us to their equipment. The UAEE staff consisted of Otto Schaden (*mudir*), Edwin Brock (*co-mudir*), Prof. Earl Ertman (Art historian, Akron University) and Lyla Pinch Brock (archaeological illustrator). One key member of our staff, Prof. Richard Wilkinson of the University of

The tomb is not very well known as much of its chambers are fully choked with debris annd most of its decoration is lost. In part the loss of the reliefs is due to deliberate damage, but a greater area had been damaged by flood waters. It is not known if the tomb was ever completed, for explorers in fairly recent times had been able to penetrate a relatively short distance beyond the pillared hall. If a burial chamber was hewn, the chances are that it has not been visited since Roman times.

As the low identification number indicates, KV.10 was among the group of tombs yet open when explorations began in modern times. Very likely, it had lain open to the elements throughout most of its existence. There were visitors in the classical era. In modern times Pococke, Champollion, Hay, Burton, Wilkinson and Lepsius are among some of the key investigators. The most extensive (though by no means exhaustive) publication of materials from KV.10 are the rough hand a copies of some scenes and texts by Lefébure in 1883. Clearly, KV.10 has had a series of distinguished explorers, but the tomb has never been cleared or copied. the many uncertainties regarding the tomb itself and also many unsettled matters regarding the person of Amenmesse lead us to suspect that a complete archaeological and epigraphic investigation of KV.10 could add considerabley to our present state of knowledge on one of the major monuments of that era and also shed some much needed light on Amenmesse and the late Dyn. XIX in general.

The aims of our first season were like our resources limited. We intended to get a better grasp of the tomb's decoration and architectural features, the extent of the *turab*, and to conduct a brief sondage and in general to plan excavation and recording strategies. Though a few weeks is hardly sufficient time in which to deal with so grand a monument as KV.10, the results were most satisfying. In our ensuing discussion we will present a series of commentaries on the tomb chambers in descending order (A through H), noting key features encountered during our exploratory season. Later we will gather together specific observations in the decoration, architectural notes and then some remarks on Amenmesse and his era. Finally, we will discuss the main goals for the next season.

Arizona, was unable to participate due to prior commitments. M. Nubi Abd el Basset served as our *reis* and all -around handy man. During our two days sondage we took on five additional local workmen.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMB

KV.10 is situated in the heart of the Valley of the Kings. The former resthouse and the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV.62) are but a few paces to the north. Ramses I's KV.16 lies not far to the east, while Ramses III's KV.11 is situated but a short distance to the west. KV.11 played and still plays a key role with regard to KV.10, for when KV.11 was initiated by Sethnakht, the necropolis workmen accidentally broke into the side chamber (Fa) of Amenmesse's pillared hall. At that point, work on KV.11 ceased until Ramses III took possession of it and resumed construction, altering the axis so as to avoid any further contact with KV.10[2]. As the C-D doorway in KV.10 is presently choked to the lintel with debris, access to the lower chambers is possible only through this breech which resulted from the construction of KV.11. Until a considerable amount of debris is removed from KV.10's upper chambers, this breech will be our access to KV.10's lower chambers. The plan and section of KV.10 presented here (see Fig. 1) are adapted from those of Elizabeth Thomas[3]. Some minor corrections have been made and will be discussed below. Some emendations are better left to a time when more of the tomb is accessible and thus ready to be remapped. On the section, we have indicated approximate levels of the debris by means of shading. Let us proceed to our survey of the various chambers.

A CHAMBER

Corridor A is the entrance way leading down to the actual door of the tomb[4]. The area is now covered with fine dust and its architectural details are not clear. The descent should consist of a central ramp flanked by stairs. Though it has been mistakenly claimed that this combination of ramp and stairway makes its first appearance in KV.10[5], it is clearly pre-Amenmesse in date. This feature can be

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(2) E. Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis*, 110.

(3) *Ibid*., p. 94.

(4) The ancient terminology for the various J. chambers corridors will be omitted from the present discussion. They are readily available in J. Cerny, *Valley of the Kings*, London 1981, p .27 ff., E Thomas, *Royal Necropolis*, p.277 ff., and J. Romer, *Valley of the Kings*, London 1981, p.279 ff.

(5) J. Cerny, *Valley of the Kings*, p. 6. , followed by Schaden in the aforementioned *Goedicke Festschrift article*.

found on the entrance way of Ramses II's KV.7 and on one of the tombs in the royal necropolis at Amarna[6]. During the clearance of KV.10, this area will get further covered with dust, so it seems best to await the completion of the clearance before dealing with the exterior area. The line and slope of the living rock is traceable on both sides of the entranceway and will be added to the maps and plans later. The general area of the exterior has been partly built up with retaining walls (see Pl. I) illustrastes the situation in January of this year.

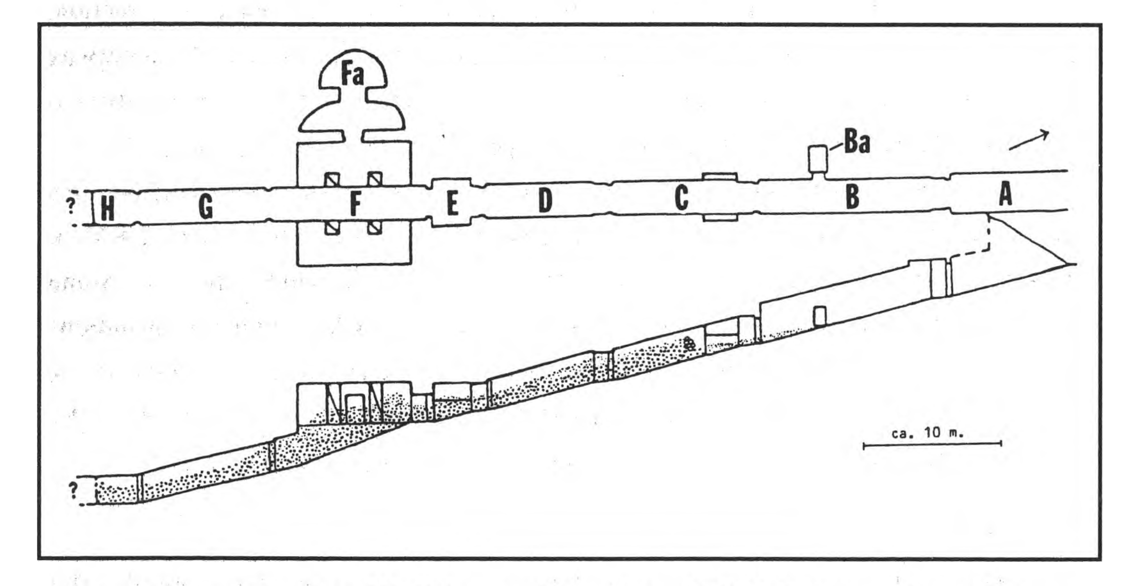


Fig. 1- Plan and section of KV.10, adapted from those of Elizabeth Thomas, but with some minor corrections plus the addition of shading to indicate approximate levels of the debris.

No foundation deposits are known from KV.10. As the tomb is in the centre of the valley and so near to key tourist attractions, it may not be possible to conduct a very wide search for deposits. Furthermore, the floor of the Valley has undergone

(6) For Ramses II's KV-7, Cf. E. Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis*, p.94 (Fig.12); for the Amarna tomb, cf. El-Kholy and G.T Martin, "*Excavations* in the Royal Necropolis at EL-Amarna", CASE...... Le Caire 1987, pl.3 (Tomb 27)

considerable alterations which might also hamper such a search.[7] At a later date, it may be possible to examine the area immediately adjacent to the upper end of the decending passage (A). There is no sense of urgency in this matter. There is no doubt that KV.10 was originaly decorated for Amenmesse. But if any deposit(s) could be found, they would allow for a more thorough study of the monument, especially in view of the fact that the few extant deposits in the royal valleys do not necessarily name for whom the monument was decorated.[8]

The texts and senes on the lintel and jambs of the doorway into the tomb were copied by Lefébure in 1883.[9] For the most part, his rough hand copies are reasonably reliable, though we can cite some corrections and additions. On the right side of the lintel, the king's nomen is clearly preceeded by [hieroglyphs] "Son of Re of his Body, his beloved". And below, on the right jamb delete Lefébure's [hieroglyphs] and restore [hieroglyphs] "His beloved". Other minor changes may be necessary once a full copy of these materials has been made.

The decoration on the lintel and jambs is in raised relief, but almost very - thing (including names, figures and texts) had been removed by chiseling out the raised elements of the relief. This erasure process leaves almost all of the decorative elements discernable (see below).

There are some obvious cuttings into the solid rock of the right jamb (see Pl. II) and ca. 17 cm. of the jamb had been cut away[10]. The first impression one gets is that the doorway had been widened for some purpose. Our Pl. II clearly illustrates cracks

(7) The entranceways of a number of the tombs in the royal Wadi have extended protective walls (as in our Plate I) and there has been much shifting of rubble from the valley floor. For the area immediately in front of KV.10, cf. the old 1920's photo published in Romer, VK.261.

(8) WV.22 for example was decorated for Amenophis III, but the foundation deposits mention only Thutmose IV., cf. E. Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis*, p.83., such deposits are known from only a relatively few tombs in the royal valleys, namely, KV.20 (Hatshepsut), KV.42, KV.43 (Thutmose IV) and KV.2 (Ramses IV) and WV-23 of Amenophis III.

(9) *Hypogées royaux*, p. 81.

(10) *Ibid.*, where the cutting are clearly distinguished.

(part of a fault) in the rock immediately above the right jamb. Edwin Brock suggested that the the living rock (gebel) by means of using the aforementioned cuts.

Flood damage may have washed away these attached elements, leaving the doorway in its present asymmetrical condition. Our sketch plan (Fig. 2) provides some of the basic architectural features in the area of the entrance to KV.10.

B CHAMBER

This room is the first corridor *within* the tomb. Records indicate that Ayrton cleared out parts of this area in 1907[11]. As a result of his efforts, the floor is exposed in the upper part of the chamber, virually down to the small side chamber (Ba). From that point onward, the debris was partly cleared so as to form a roughly flat surface to serve as work and storage space. That had indeed been the main use of this part of KV.10 from the time of Ayrton until we began our investigations. The flat surface extends from ca. 40 cm. norh of the Ba doorway down to the dry wall in C chamber. Except for the little debris removed from B during our season, the *turab under* this 'floor' has not yet been examined.

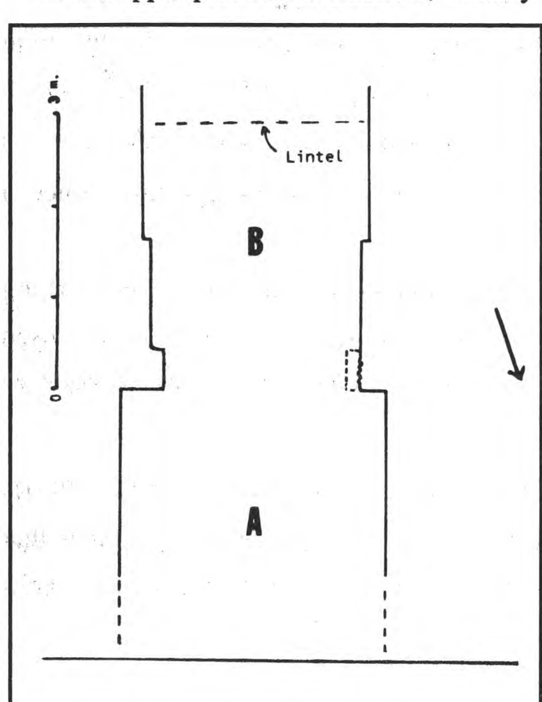


Fig. 2- Map indicating the main elements of the entrance into the tomb (A-B doorway).

Just inside the doorway into B are more raised relief decoration. The inner jambs and the thickness are adorned with royal titularies and representations of a winged Maat goddess (see Pl. III). The goddess sits on a *neb*-sign which, in turn, is supported by plants symbolizing Upper Egypt (right thickness) and Lower Egypt (left thickness).

(11) Notes published in N. Reeves. *Valley of the Kings*, 334.

Immediately beyond the doorway on the left wall is the scene of the king before Re-Horakhty (Fig. 3), a common element associated with the Litany of Re materials which generally adorn the upper chambers of royal tombs of the era[12]. What little original relief remains undisturbed in the area of the pleats on the king's garments suggest that the workmanship was of fine quality, as would be expected. But like the raised relief work on the doorway and jambs, this scene had also been carefully chiseled away, leaving a clear outline of most of the forms and glyphs undesirable. In those cases, the names and figures of the victim are removed. In this instance, everything is so treated, even the names and depictions of major deities. Strange, but the cartouches of Amenmesse high on the right thickness are virtually untouched.

Despite this possible oversight, the apparent intention was the removal of the entire decorative scheme from the entrance area of KV.10..Such action seems far too thorough if the mere desecration of the memory of Amenmesse was the intention. Had usurpation been planned, the deities would not have to have been removed. Redecoration for some purpose may have been considered. Until we have examined more of KV.10, it may be premature to offer any hypothesis at the present time, but we will comment further below after reviewing more features of the tomb.

Just inside the doorway for a distance of ca. 3m, the decoration is in raised relief. At that point there is an inner lintel with winged disc (Behdet) which is intact also in relief.

Beyond that lintel the decoration changes to sunk relief (except for some painted plaster in E chamber cf. below). Virtually no plaster remains on the walls of B chamber now, but there are yet some signs and traces of decoration which had been cut through the plaster and into the Limestone walls. On the left side, high on the wall, are parts of the series of columns of texts each beginning with "*Hail to thee O, Re...*," part of the Litany of Re materials. On the right side near the doorway to C chamber is a cluster of signs partly preserved, consisting primarily of cartouches of Amenmesse (see Fig. 4). Despite the deliberate erasures near the entrance of the tomb, these cartouches of Amenmesse exhibit no evidence of erasure or hacking out.

(12) For the Litany of Re materials cf. E. Naville, *La Litanie du Soleil, Leipzig* 1875. and E Hornung, Das *Buch der Anbetung des Re im Western (Sonnen Litanei),* Genève 1957-1976.

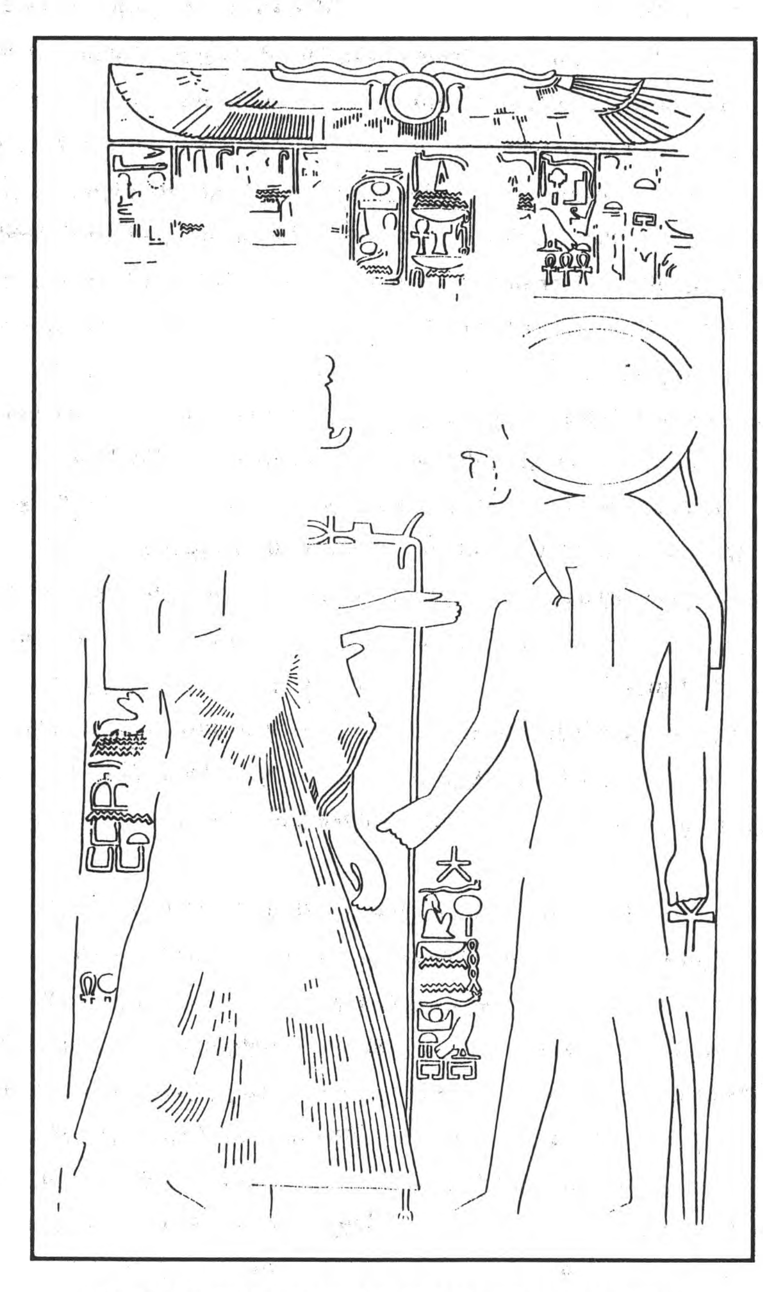


Fig. 3- King Amenmesse before Re-Horakhty, left wall, just inside the door into B chamber.

Some traces of decoration occur in various parts of the chamber, though there is relatively little in the manner of connected texts or representations. Traces along the bottom of the walls suggests a palace facade frieze, but this is more in the form of vague images rather than sharp clear lines. The loss of the plaster is presumed to have been due to frequent flooding. Through the millennia, KV.10 was left open for long stretches repeated flooding resulted not only in the introduction of a considerable

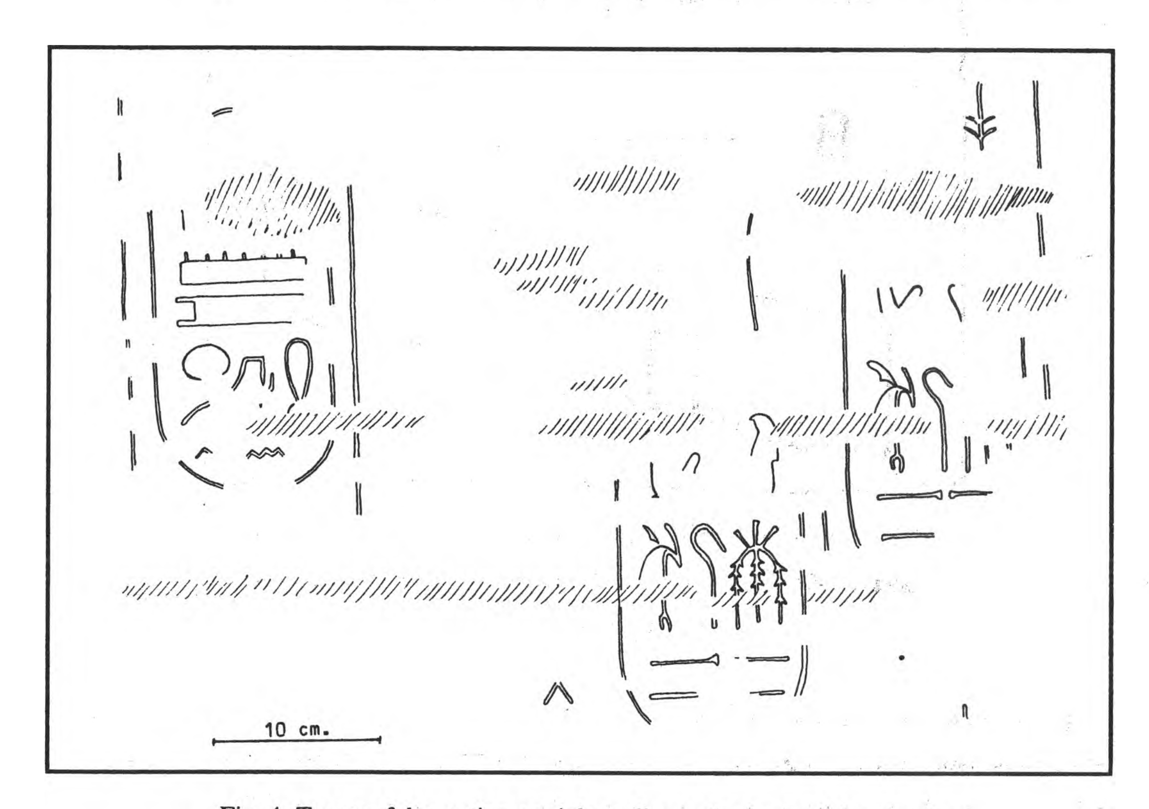


Fig. 4- Traces of decoration on right wall near the back of chamber B.

quantity of debris but the removal of most of the plaster (and its decoration) from the walls and ceilings. Some signs had been cut deeply (especially the royal names) and penetrated the limestone. With the loss of the plaster, only such signs are preserved.

In some cases they even retain paint, suggesting that the decoration of the chamber had been completed in antiquity.

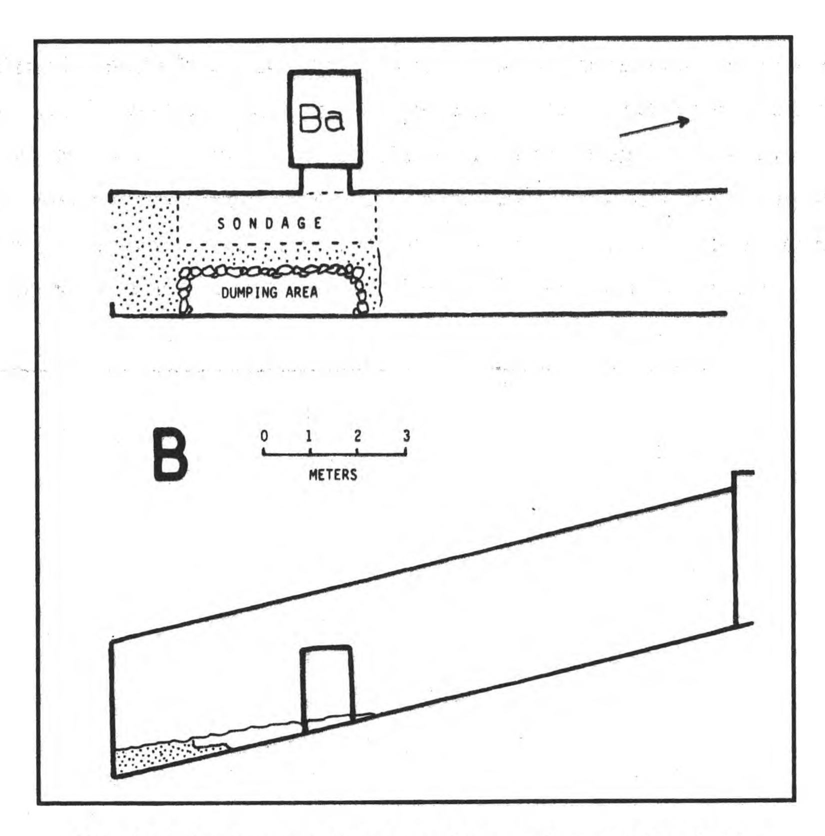


Fig. 5- B chamber, indicating area of the sondage and dumping in January 1993. The mint-dry wall created to contain the rubble until it is removed from the tomb.

The completion of the decoration here is also indicated by the fact that the ceiling still retains some traces of decoration. There are some areas where plaster still adheres to the ceiling. Some pieces had apparently fallen off not long ago, for Ertman found and collected some from the floor near the center of the chamber (see Pl. IV, a). The basic cólour scheme of the ceiling appears to have been red on a yellow background.

The visitation of KV.10 in classical era is indicated by various graffiti[13]. In our brief investigation we noted some of those copied and published by Baillet and yet others of more recent date. Unless the *turab* covers some ancient graffiti which are fortunate enough to be preserved, we suspect that the bulk of the new graffiti will be fairly modern.

"Ba" is the designation of the small side chamber cut into the west wall (right side) of B. At the present time there is an openwork wooden does which is locked and sealed as it houses finds from Rose's excavations in KV.39[14].

Through the slits in the door we were unable to detect any signs of decoration, though the chamber it self appears to have been completely hewn.

Despite the brevity of our first season, we did want to move some debris. For two days (January 6-7) we conducted a small sondage in B chamber. Along the right wall near the side chamber B, where the *turab* now begins, we excavated an area ca. 4.20 m. back into the corridor, keeping the shallow trench ca. 1.25 m. wide (cf. Fig. 5 below for details[15]. To simplify the removal of the debris, we covered the floor on the opposite side (left) of the chamber with cardboard sheets and then dumped the fill into this area, sifting carefully as we worked. Later, when the clearance resumes, we will first take the already sifted rubble to some EAO approved dump site outside of the tomb, and perhaps outside of the valley propre.

As expected, the composition of the debris consisted of hard-packed limestone chips and dust, with a variety of items atop and within it. As the EAO had been utilizing the room for electrical work and supplies, it came as no surprise that many bits of wire, broken glass nails and screws had worked themselves into the surface. An Egyptian coin (ca. 1930 AD), Fragments of modern chinaware, bottle caps and

(13) J. Baillet, *Inscriptions greques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou syringes*, Le Caire 1926, p. 21-522. His N°.2023 is very obvious in the scene of the king before Re-Horakhty, though we have not included it in our presentation of that scene in our Fig. 3.

(14) KV-39, cf. Rose "An Interrim Report on KV.39" in N. Reeves, *After Tutankhamun*, London, 28-40.

(15) In our Figs. 1 and 5 the roughly "flat" debris floor in B and C is very noticeably sloped. If one draws a horizontal line from the bottom of the Ba doorway through the lower part of B and into C chamber, the ledges in C would be *under* the floor level, which they are obviously not (plate VI). This situation adds additional weight to our argument that the slopes in B and D will have to be revised.

the seemingly ever- present sardine tin also came to light. A fair number of sherds were recoverd and they ranged from pharaonic to late Roman, plus a few which may be quite modern.

Some of the main pharaonic sherds are illustrasted in our Fig. 6. Some rim sherds from red ware carinated bowls (see Fig 6, b and and 6, c) and the rim of a common New Kingdom ribbed jar (see Fig. 6, d) were noted. A New Kingdom amphora handle (see Fig. 6, g) was assembled from several fragments. The most unusual piece was a body sherd (red ware) with an incised decoration, apparently some item with pennants or streamers (see Fig. 6, f). The carinated bowl (see Fig. 6, b) has a red slip which is now disintegrating. There is a white substance (paint or plaster ?) which was adherring to the bowl. Very possibly some nécropolis workmen used this worn but fancy bowl to mix his material

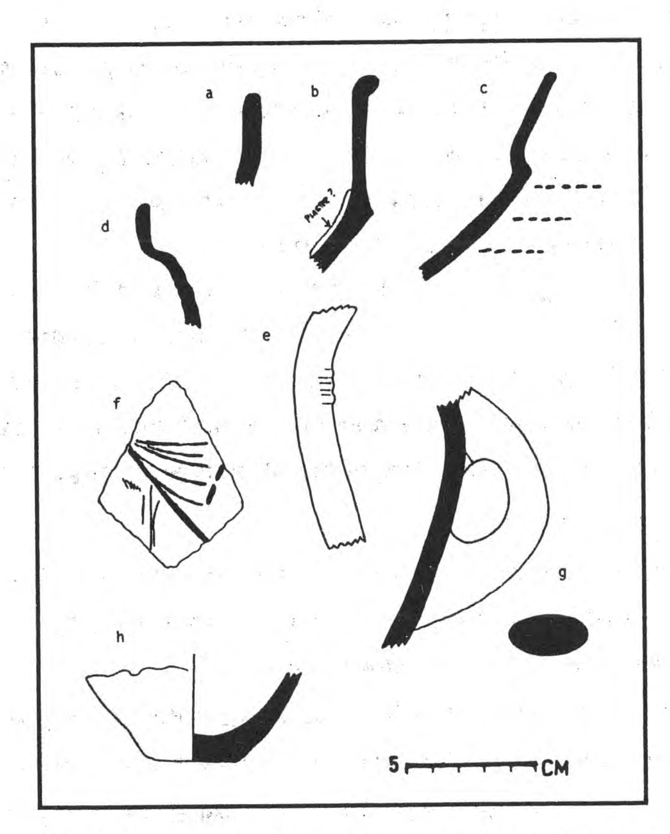


Fig. 6- Pharaonic sherds recovered during the sondage in B chamber.

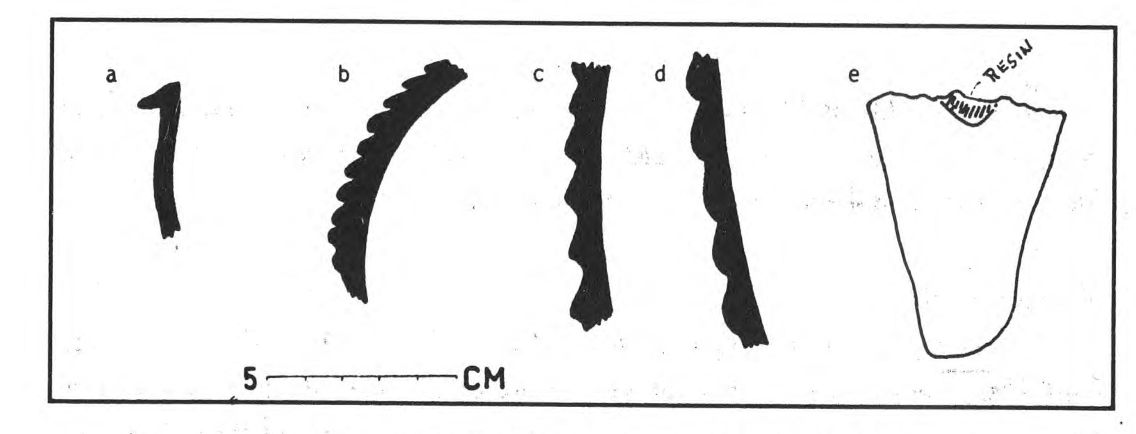


Fig. 7- Late Roman amphora sherds (b-e) and coptic rim sherd.

A few of the late wares are illustrated in Fig.7. (see Fig. 7, a) is a rim sherd of a well- fired orange-buff ware with a dark red slip on the exterior of the rim and neck. The remaining examples are from late Roman amphora: (see Fig. 7,b) is from the shoulder of the vessel, (see Fig.7, c and 7) are from the body of the vessel, and (see 7, e) is the base. These amphora fragments are virtually identical to those recovered during our work in the Western Valley of the Kings and must date to ca. the 6th century AD[16]. One late Roman cooking pot was nearly reconstructible (not illustrated) ; much of the body had been pieced to gether and we had the base, but lacked a connecting link to the body. No sign of the rim and handles was evident at the close of our brief sondage.

If more interest to those primarily concerned with the activity of the pharaonic era, there were hints of a few interesting items other than sherds. A tiny black faience piece had a convex surface with slightly angled transverse ridges, it had a beardlike appearance. There was also a rim sherd of blue-glazed jar (see Pl. IVb). A tiny Piece of red granite was found in the sifting. Granite was commonly used for many of the royal sarcophagi, but with the mass of materials washed into KV.10 from the valley floor, one tiny fragment in this mixed context is, of course, meaningless. While a great many of the fragments now in KV.10 were introduced by flood waters, it is hoped that there will be some evidence regarding funerary furnishings for

(16) For comments on the Western Valley Late Roman materials cf. O. Schaden, "Excavation of the Tomb of king Ay", *JARCE* XXI, 1984, p. 57-58. Cf. also O. Schaden, "Preliminary Report on the

Amenmesse, Takhat or Baketwerel. It is our suspicion that if any interment(s) had been made for any of the persons named on the tomb's walls, such items are most likely to turn up in the lower chambers of the tomb.

C CHAMBER

In many of the royal tombs of Dyn. XVIII and early XIX, C chamber had traditionally consisted of a steep stairwell. However, the trend in the New Kingdom was to gradually decrease the angle of descent, not only in C but throughout the entire tomb[17]. Our recent measurements in KV.10's C chamber suggest that the angle of descent should be ca.10 degrees, not the ca.14-15 degree slope of the Thomas plan. Our plan and section adapted from her work follows her angle of incline (see Fig. 1), but we also present a new plan and section of C chamber alone as based upon new data see (see Fig. 8).

Other architectural features are worthy of note. The ledges are note in a separate "recess" and the ceiling above the thicknesses of the jambs is virtually flat. These alterations are approximated in our fig. I and indicated in our fig. 8. In the latter, we do not provide a distinct floor is yet covered by a considerable amount of *turab*. On the basis of the new configuration of C's descent, We suspect that perhaps corridors B and D may also require some modification in this area. Some corrections of this magnitude will have to await further clearrance.

The exact nature of the floor in C is also uncertain. It may be stairway or a ramp a combination of these elements as in Ramses II'S KV.7 and Merneptah's KV.8[18] . The configuration of the floor and the quetion of the existance (or non-existance) of sarcophagus "holds" will be amon the key items of interest as we clear C chamber In earlier royal tombs, B chamber was provided with such holds so as to aid the lowering of the sarcophagus. But with the gradual lessening of the slope, their need

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Clearance of WV-24", *KMT* II (N°.3, Fall 1991), p. 58, and another report on the conclusion of that work, in *KMT* (summer of 1993).

(17) Comparison of plans and sections in E. Thomas, *Royal Necropolis* indicates a very steep descent in Dyn. XVIII and in early Dyn. XIX. By the end of Dyn. XIX and in Dyn. XX the layout is virtually level.

(18) For KV-7 and KV-8, cf. E. Thomas, *Royal Necropolis*, p. 94, fig. 12.

in B chamber became obsolete. Instead, C chamber became the recipient of the holds[19]. If KV.10 was fitted with them, we suspect they will be in the lower part of C chamber.

Traces of decoration are not especially abundant in C, though it must be admitted that the present time there is relatively little wall surface exposed because of the debris. However, on the inner jamb (left side) are parts of an Amenmesse cartouche (see Pl. V), and on the thicknesses of the jambs (both sides) are the faint outlines of the figure of the king. Elsewhere in the accessible portions of the corridor are only the minutest of traces, but even a few of those contain some paint, so we suppose that C, like B, had been decorated for Amenmesse. Once the debris is removed from the corridor, more surviving traces of the decoration may come to light.

The flat floor of the *turab* in B chamber extends into the first part of C as well. At a point ca. one metre beyond the ledges, the high mass of virtually untouched debris is cut off from the front of the tomb by a dry well of relatively modern construction (Pl. VI). We do not expect the foundations of this dry wall to go much below the level of Ayrton's floor. The clearance of the debris beyond the dry wall will present some difficulties, for the rubble reaches almost to the ceiling. Tentative plans call for the removal of the dry wall and then clearance of an arbitrary level from the top of the fill. In this manner we will create room to work and also be able to exercice some controls. Unless the nature of the debris dictates otherwise, we would then go back to B and work down into B and C along the floor of the tomb.

One cluster of unexpected items turned up atop the loose fill beyond the dry wall and even partly built into the wall. These finds include one limestone fragment with sunk relief decoration (designated SR-1) and 57 other limestone fragments with raised relief. SR-1 contains two crudely cut columns of inscription on a badly preserved surface (see Fig. 9); its origin is unknown. The remaining raised relief fragments are done in a rather fine style ; the cutting of the decoration and the uniform nature of the stone suggest that these pieces all stem from the same source. The decorative elements of the raised relief fragments consist primarily of borders.

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(19) Other tombs with the sarcophagus hold in C chamber are KV.8, KV.15, KV.47, KV.14 and KV.13. Whichever historical construction on Amenmesse's position in the dynasty one follows, KV.10 falls clearly in with this particular group of tombs.

Among the more distinctive pieces we may note N° 40A and 40B which appear to be from a kheker-frieze (see Pl. VIIa). Several examples with hieroglyphs include N°15 (see Pl. VIIc) and N° 26 (see Fig. 10) N° 14 is art of a king's kilt with the lion's tail and followed by the text *"(...behind him ...)"* (see Pl. VIIb), this is surely to be restored as some version of the common text*"(All life etc. are) behind him (like Re...)"*. The last fragment to be presented here is N° 56 (Pl. VIId). Despite the number of fragments, no faces, crowns or cartouches are among the decoration.

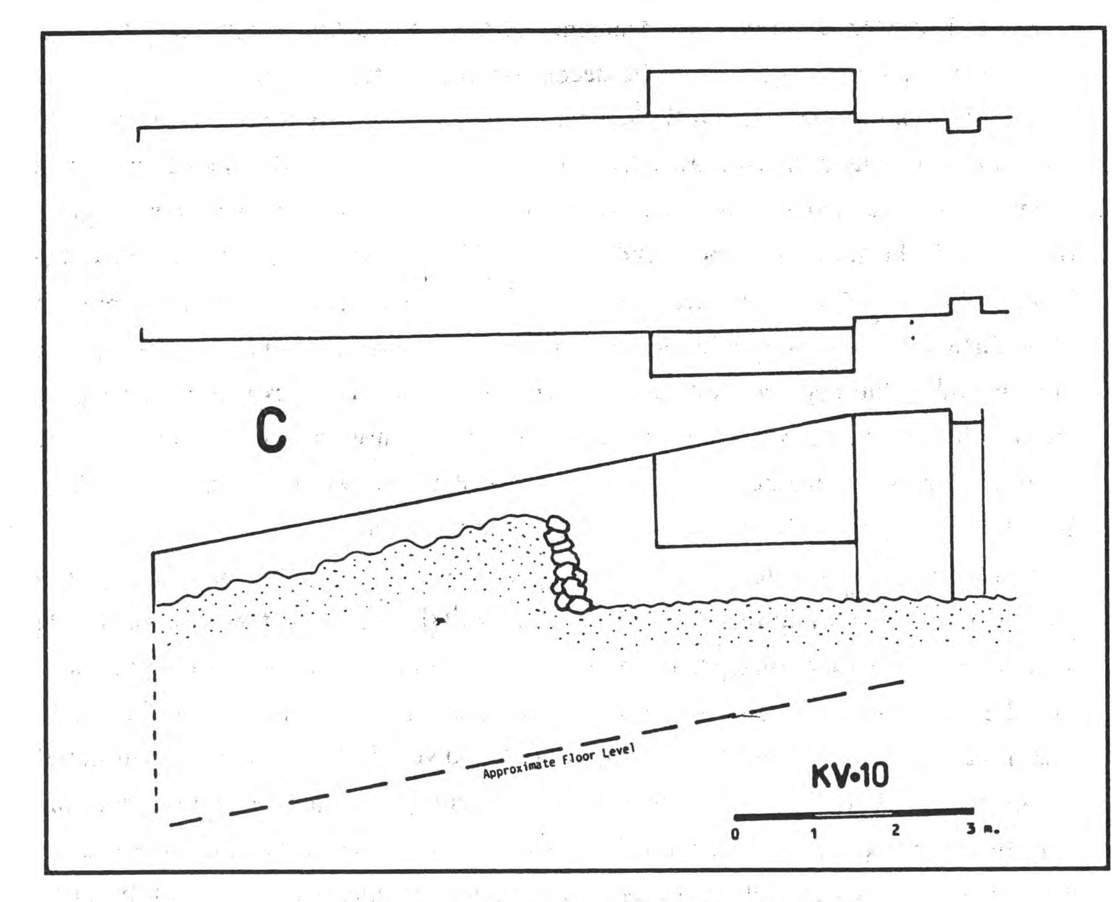


Fig.8- Revised plan and section of chamber C.

Furthermore, from what we have seen in KV.10, there's nothing which might indicate that these pieces originated here. These items (and perhaps others yet hidden in the *turab*?) were probably collected from elsewhere and for whatever reasons were dumped or stored in KV.10. Other tombs in the Valley are known to have had portions of their decoration removed in ancient and modern times and it is our aim to initiate a search for the original home of these fragments when we resume work[20]. All the fragments were measured, photographed and remain stored in KV.10.

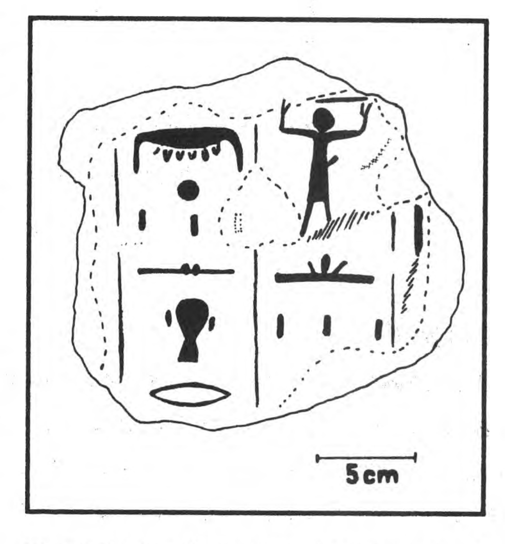


Fig. 9- Sunk relief text on a badly preserved limestone fragment.

Another surprise "find" was a large heavily coated slab which was learning with its face against the dry wall. We set it against the left ledge to a get better view of the dry wall and the debris beyond (see Pl. VI). The front of the slab contained the cartouches of King Rahotep. This was note a rare monument of the obscure King of the XVII[th] Dyn., but was a prop from the filming of 1954 movie "Valley of the Kings" starring Robert Taylor and Eleanor Parker.

(20) For example, there is mention of the discovery of some fragments from the jambs of Merneptah's tomb near the old Davis house, cf. J. Romer, Valley of the Kings, p. 252.

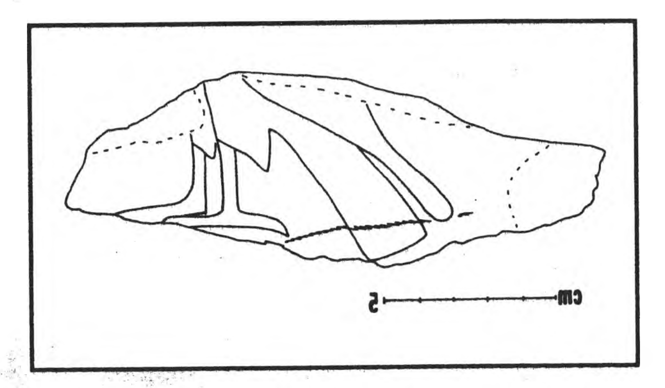


Fig. 10- Decorated limestone fragment in raised relief, N° 26.

D CHAMBER

D chamber is another descending corridor. It is presently not accessible from C because of the excessive rubble, but it can be crawled into from the lower chamber via the connection between KV.11 and KV.10. Not only is the C-D doorway choked with *turab*, but most of chamber is filled to near the ceiling. Little wall surface is exposed and we did note any traces of decoration on the walls here. However, there are some patches of poorly preserved plaster on the ceiling and they contain the traditional sky pattern- white stars on a dark blue background. As the decoration of the ceiling had been completed, we presume that once debris is removed from the chamber we will find some traces of decoration on the walls.

Evidence of relatively recent human activity is indicated by what may be termed a "crawl channel" along the right side of the corridor. Not a great deal of rubble has been moved, but someone pushed debris to the left side of the room to allow access. Very likely this was the work of one of the 19th century explorers.[21]

E CHAMBER

This is the well chamber in a number of the earlier royal tombs in the Valley. The famous Sheikh Nagdy informed us that his father (who was also head of all gafirs in the Valley for many years) told him that indeed there was a pit in KV.10. However,

(21) Hay, Wilkinson and Burton all spent some time in KV.10. Cf. E. Thomas, *Royal Necropolis*, p. 110-111.

the rubble here is considerable and much clearance will be necessary before we can make any definite pronouncements regarding a pit.

A major feature of E chamber was its decoration for a king's mother named Takhat[22]. It is sad to relate that the earlier copies (especially Lefébure's rough hand

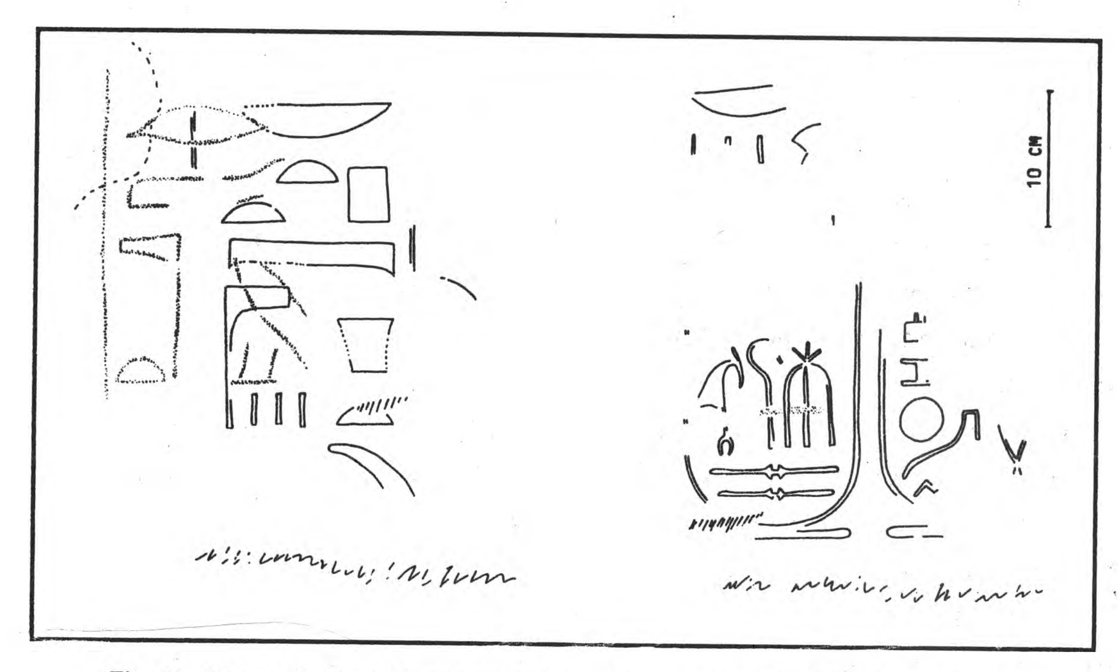


Fig. 11- Traces of original Amenmesse decoration on right wall of E chamber. Part of Takhat's titulary partly preserved (indicated with shading) though most of the replastering and redecorating for her is now lost.

copies of 1883) are now the basic source for these scenes, for virtually all of the scenes and texts relating to Takhat have disappeared (disintegrated). Lefébure's copies can be verified in part, for there a few traces remaining. Against the back wall

(22) E. lefébure, *Hypogées royaux*, pl. 55. Earlier copies may be found in J.F. Champollion, *Monuments*, III, pl. CCLXV (n° 3) and *ND* III, p. 202 F.

on the left side is still a portion of Takhat's cartouche painted (not incised) on plaster. On the left wall there is yet a part of the text introducing Isis. A most revealing set of traces occur on the right wall (upper left corner), where traces of Takhat's titles ("*Osiris, Mother of God...*") can yet be read. Unlike the aforementioned cartouche, the text here is clearly incised, not merely painted. In addition to surviving elements of the Takhat materials, evidence of the *original* decoration can now be added. Partly covered by and slightly to the right of the Takhat text are signs cut into the limestone (see Fig. 11). The titulary begins the identification of a goddess: "*Lady of Heaven, Consort of the Gods...*". The remainder of the text is lost, but the tip of a horn (presumably the goddess' headdress) is preserved. A bit father to the right, where Takhat's head was formerly presented, are now traces of (intact) Amenmesse cartouches. Where plaster was thin or signs deeply cut, elements of the original sculptures are found. Clearly, the Takhat scenes were added after the original Amenmesse decoration.

The appearance of a king's mother in scenes without the king has given rise to some speculations[23]. A similar situation occurs in the pillared hall (F chamber), where Queen Baketwerel was depicted in the company of the gods without a kingly presence.

The generally accepted notion is that Takhat and Baketwerel are mother and wife respectively of Amenmesse. As the ladies' decoration can be clearly labelled a redecoration, their associations with Amenmesse are less definite than had been formerly supposed (cf. below). A key problem before us now is to try and find evidence which will ennable us to determine the *time gap* between the original Amenmesse work and the new decoration for royal women. While the dating of the Takhat and Baketwerel materials now takes on a new significance, the recent destruction of these scenes most likely came about as a result of the last major floods

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(23) Lepsius had already considered the possibility that the absence of Amenmesse's names might indicate that Takhat and Baketwerel might not be associated with Amenmesse, but he did locate a part of an Amenmesse cartouche in the pillared hall and eventually concluded that the royal women were indeed connected with Amenmesse, *LD, Text*, III, p. 206. Discussed further below.

King's names and representations may often be lacking from queen's tombs, but KV.10 was clearly a kingly tomb in design and in its original decoration.

in the royal Valley -1916 of era[24].

As for architectural features noted in the well chamber, there are no indications of ledges or recesses which appear on the Thomas plan and therefore we have deleted them from our partly revised maps (see Fig .1). The measurements of the chamber propre were 3.20 x 4.24 m., which fits the Thomas but for the supposed ledges. Someone in recent times did do some digging in the southwest corner of the room, but they do not appear to have gone deeply enough to have identified either the ledges or the well. Unlike some of the more complex historical problems, such architectural matters should easily be resolved in the course of the tomb.

The crawl noted in D chamber continues through E chamber. And finally, the ceiling in E is flat, not sloped. The *turab* is considerable, but as the room is relatively small the task of removing it will not be great-unless there is a well.

F. CHAMBER

This is the pillard hall, in completed monuments, This room generally marks the halfway point into a royal tomb. The measurements of the hall are a bit irregular, but the maximum figures are ca. 8.94 x 9.57m. It originally contained four pillars, but one is broken away (pillar C), two others are badly cracked and now supported by the debris, leaving but one (pillar A, first one on the left) in reasonably good condition. When the excavation reaches the hall, it will be necessary to shore up the remaining pillars or else remove them altogether. Our sketch map (Fig. 12) of the hall provides approximate relationships.

The debris in F is, for the most part, more than had been anticipated[25]. The E-F doorway is nearly choked to the lintel (see Pl. VIII b). In the north two-thirds of the hall, one can only move about by crawling. In the south third of the hall, one can

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(24) J. Romer, *Valley of the Kings*, p. 278, puts the last great flood in 1916 . Unfortunately, his work with Rutherford and Chekene, *Damage in the Royal Tombs in the Valley of the Kings*. San Francisco 1977, was no available to us as this manuscript was being prepared.

(25) A glance into the pillared hall was made through a tiny in the wall separating KV.11 from KV.10's side chamber Fa. A photo from this vantage point is included in the report to be published in the Goedicke *Festschrift* (cited in note 1 above), from that limited vantage point one can see the slope of the debris, but not accurately estimate depth, etc.

stand erect. This situation is due in part to the natural downward slope of the debris pile, but also to the fact that one (or more) of the early explorers removed *turab*. This was surely done in the hopes of gaining access to the burial chamber.[26] The "dump" for that partial excavation is in the northeast corner of the chamber (see. Pl. VIIIb).

We encountered a great disappointment when we first entered the pillared hall, for it had been our intention to photograpy and study the scenes of Baketwerel (in F) and Takhat (in E) which were last copied by Lefébure[27]. But as our eyes adjusted to the lights, they were met primarily with drab blank walls. Most of the scenes and texts copied by Lefébure in 1883 were gone. However, it became evident that in addition to some intact elements of this decoration on part of the back wall, other traces of evidence were preserved, at least in part.

As part of the queen's decoration on the back (south) wall now contains the only surviving scene of Baketwerel in KV.10, it must (despite its fragmentary state) be considered the major scene in the chamber (see Pl. IXb). The following detailed description was provided by Prof. Ertman[28].

The surviving elements of the queen's decoration are just a bit to the right of thedescending passage (now blocked with rubble) to corridor G Lefébure recorded Queen Baketwerel being led into the presence of Osiris and Isis by the gods Anubis (who grasps the queen's right hand) and Horus. Some details can be added to Lefébure's work as he appears to have copied texts and figures at different times ; at least this is implied in his drawings as no room was saved for the double crown of Horus (still visible on the wall) or for the headdress of the queen (see below).

With The loss of the plaster from the lower part of the wall, the queen now seems to hover in place, her ghost-like from almost a silhouette Where linear contours were

(26) Much, but not all, of the debris had been removed from the back (southern) third of the hall. Even the back corners are clear, and we assume the rubble was shifted in an attempt to locate the passageway to the burial chamber which is not always in the centre of the hall (as in KV.17 of Seti I). The present height of the ceiling at the back of the hall is ca. 2m.; we suspect another meter of so of *turab* still covers the floor in this part of the hall.

(27) *Hypogées royaux*, pls. 56-57; only partly copied in LD III, 202g.

(28) In addition to the aforementioned Report in *KMT*, Prof. Ertman also delivered a paper on our first season in KV.10 at the meeting of the American Reserch Center in Egypt (April 1993).

deeply recessed into the plaster, the thickness of the plaster was reduced. Consequently, attacks of time and the elements have rendered them even thinner, ennabling us to see through them in parts to the limestone wall behind. The effect appears to the limetone wall behind. The effect appears to creat cut-out forms where there was once a consistent stable surface.

In this scene, the queen wears a white garment tied at the waist. Part of the pleated knot of her sash is preserved. Red lines indicate pleats not only on the tie around her waist, but also on her sleeves. Thirteen lines on the figure's left arm and at least fourteen on the right sleeve indicate these fancy surface folds. More pleats existed on the right arm (which was extented), but the damaged surface has eliminated them.

The red outline of her left upper arm is shown through her diaphonous garment, and this line then joints with her shoulder. Likewise, what remains of her upper arm is indicated as a descending red line under the multiple pleated folds of her sleeve. The extra material of these starched linear pleats create a stiffened appearance which flairs away from the arms. This shape leaves the arms free to move as the ancient Egyptians apparently did not know how to set sleeves into a garment.

The queen's left hand grasps her right shoulder, probably in a gesture of reference or submission to a higher authority (in this case, Osiris and Isis, now lost). Her left thumb projects upward in a common pose. Prof. Wilkinson has indicated that this gesture of deference was performed by grasping the opposite arm (sometimes both arms) anywhere between the elbow and the shoulder, but that this pose is uncommon for a royal figure. A royal figure is generally depicted praising a deity, though in private tombs one may find Bakewerel's submissive stance.[29]

On her left wrist, Baketwerel wears a yellow bracelet which has a central wide band bordered on each side by a narrow band. At the back of her left hand, red linear strokes extend up the arm, interrupted only by the bracelet until they reach the hem of the flaring sleeve. Nine lines indicate the eight rows of her broad yellow wesekh-collar. Counting from the neck, the vertical strokes in rows of three, five and seven probably indicate beads placed vertically. Rows three and seven are painted in

(29) Source : a letter from Prof. Richard Wilkinson dated 26 January 1993. Wilkinson added that the gesture with the thumb pointing upwards from the hand is actually common in New Kingdom private tombs.

blue or black (now faded and discoloured) and row five is in red. The queen's present profile is misleading as she appears to have a Ramesside nose, much like the mummy of Ramses II. This, however, is not the case, as the plaster has shrunk pulled away, leaving a linear gap between the outer contour of her nose, mouch and chin, thus broadening these areas[30]. Her features were originally more delicate. The partially arched eyebrow thins and tapers as it trails off towards her ear (now lost). She has a red line between her eyebrow and upper eye lid, probably to indicate a flesh fold similar to that on an image of queen Nefertari from QV. 66. Other linear red strokes are in front of Baketwerel's ear and below her mouth. In both instances, these random lines may be an attempt to depict contours.

There are remains of a yellow uraeus which also has some red markings. A yellow band encircles her head and is marked by four irregular red horizontal strokes intersected by six diagonal lines in red. It is doubtful that a tie or knot was shown terminating this band as the head covering is preserved in this area and Lefébure did not indicate a termination of any type. The yellow colouring of this band goes well beyond its sunk linear contour.

The queen's head covering is painted white and is rounded at the bottom. It might be confused with a *khat*-headdress except that no "tail" is found extending downward from it. No internal striations are preserved which might indicate hair. Somewhat puzzling is the curl(?) on the queen's temple which curves rearward as recorded by Lefébure. From the present condition of the remains of this wall decoration it is difficult to reconcile this particular feature with the existing paint or to determine whether this addition (if indeed it was ever present) had a specific meaning. Present, but not recorded by Lefébure, are the remains of dual yellow plumes worn by Baketwerel[31]. The forward plume is easily seen while its mate can only be detected now by the curve of upper tip. The negative space where a sundisc had been placed can seen cutting into the back portion of the first plume. Although it is now lost, its initial presence is supported not only by the circular negative void,

(30) The breakup and shrinkag of the plaster in the area of the face almost gives the impression that Baketwereel is wearing a mask (Schaden).

(31) Lefébure's copies are only very rough hand drawings. He may have done text first and then figures, or *vice versa*. In any event, he did omit the queen's plumes.

but also by a curved red line which conforms to the arc of the original disc. A tripartite wig and modius were the usual support for the double plumes and sundisc worn by queens and goddessec during the New Kingdom.

Anubis leads the queen and his left arm can be observed in front of her, An armlet on his upper arm is yellow with a wide black or blue band bisecting it. A similar thin line borders it on its lower side and portions of a red stripe remain across its top. A small part of Anubis' head covering is visible behind the figure's upper arm. This area has two thin red stripes on a field of yellow. Although the body of Anubis is now lost, a portion of a *wesekh* collar has a base colour of yellow and red stripes indicating rows as well as the outer contour of his collar. A row of black pendant beads (?) placed vertically are capped by another red line. Other red vertical lines probably also indicate a row of beads.

The fragments of the KV.10 scene of Queen Baketwerel share a trait with some figures in the tomb of Queen/King Tawosret and Queen Nefertari, where crowns cut into or overlap the top borders or upper decorations of scenes[32]. This visually links these queenly depictions and implies a late Dyn. XIX date for Baketwerel's portrayal. This type of special organization is uncommon in Egyptian painting, where figures are most usually contained within designated areas and do not overlap other registers or borders. Further study of these exceptions in Dyn. XIX royal tombs may prove a connection between an artist or group of artists, or may merely indicate that this unusual special treatment was copied from one tomb to the other.

The surviving scene of Baketwerel and those copied by Lefébure and now lost do not mention or depict Amenmesse. As indicated earlier our discussion, the Takhat scenes in E chamber likewise omit mention of the king ecept in the vague references in the titles (King's Mother, Mother of the God). To be sure, Lepsius reported a partially preserved cartouche of Amenmesse on one of the pillars in the hall and thus concluded that the queen and king's mother were, after all, associated with Amenmesse[33]. On the west face of pillar B (second on the left cf. sketch plan, Fig. 12) there is a nearly complete cartouche of Amenmesse (see Fig. 13), but it does not

(32) Cf. for example E. Hornung, *Valley of the Kings*, New York 1990, pls. 23, 33 and 87-89. On examples from Nefertari's QV-66 cf. *ibid.*, pls. 85 and 143-144.

(33) *LD*, Text, III, p. 206 and note 23 above.

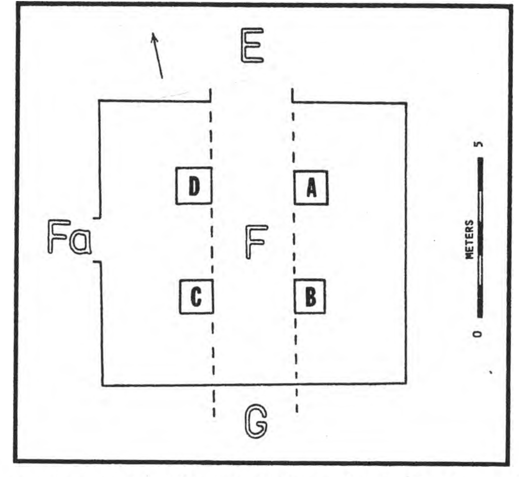


Fig.12- Approximate plan of the pillard hall (F), with indications of pillar designations.

utilize the writing of the nomen as indicated by Lepsius which has only the Amun figure and the *ms* sign at the top of the cartouche. Our example from pillar B is enclosed by a cobra with disc and contains figures of Amun and Re (facing one another) at the top of the cartouche. Just below and slightly to the left of the cobra there is yet some plaster ready to disintegrate and fall. It appears that the pillar's original decoration had been plastered over in the redecorating process for Baketwerel, much like E chamber had been reworked for Takhat.

A similar situation exists along the back wall of the hall, where the central scene of Baketwerel being led before Osiris and Isis occurs. Traces of the original scene cut partly into the limestone indicate a seated Osiris and a goddess (presumably Isis) standing behind him. Very likely the subject matter of the original scene was comparable to that of the redecoration.

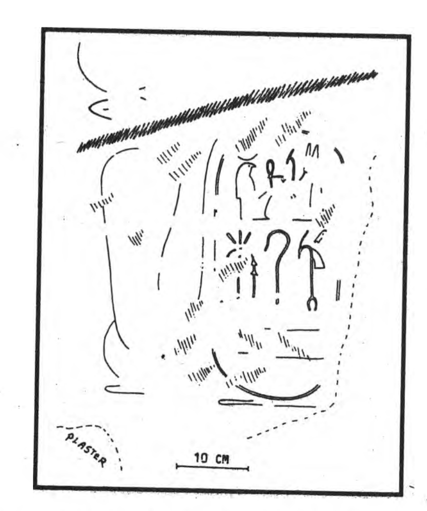


Fig. 13- menmesse cartouche with embellishment on the west face of pillar "B" jagged line indicates C rack in the stone, and plaster in the lower left corner is from the redocoration for queen Bakewerel.

Other traces of the original Amenmesse decoration and the redocoration for Baketwerel are to be found on the walls of the pillared hall. High on the left (east) wall near the northeast corner of the room is part of a disc with an entwined cobra. At present we are not certain to which phase of the decoration this figure belongs ; it is absent from Lefébure's sketch. One other bit of decoration to be considered here is a deeply incised figure of the god Ptah on the north face of pillar D (first pillar on the right). The head (and its accoutrements) are very pronounced, but absent from Lefébure's drawings. The debris is very high in this part of the chamber and it may be not much of the top of the head was visible in 1883[34]. This figure is of very high quality and is presumed to have been part of the original decoration. If the lower part of the pillar is in fair condition, the remainder of the figure should eventually be recovered. The face of path is broken away as the corner of the pillar has fallen away. Hopefully it should lie burried in the *turab* and will be located during the clearance.

The two days spent in E and F chambers were hardly sufficient time in which to

(34) What remains and is visible of the Ptah figure indicates a very finely cut piece of sculpture. Very likely there was not very much of this scene exposed when Lefébure worked in KV.10. Most likely this Ptah figure was part of the original Amenmesse decoration.

sort out the various traces of the original from the later decoration. However, the general conclusion regarding the sequence of events is clear. E and F chambers were both decorated for Amenmesse. From what little remains of the original work, there are no indications that either Takhat or Baketwerel were included in the scenes. At some later date, E was replastered and decorated solely for the king's Mother Takhat, while F was replastered and adapted for Baketwerel. In E we find a mixture of forms - paint on plaster and also incised and painted plaster. In F, the traces noted thus far are all incised and painted. For other tentative conclusions to be drawn from this sequence of decorations, (see our "Historical Observations", below). One final thought for now ; in the last century the description of the Takhat and Baketwerel scenes was not especially laudable,[35] but their nearly total disappearance since 1883 are a reminder that even Egyptian antiquities are subject to the rules of nature.

A side chamber to the west of the pillared hall was begun, but never completed. This unfinished room is now designated as "Fa." we did not spend much time examining this room in our brief first season, but its irregular contours appear reasonably well represented in the Thomas plan, where one gets the impression that a second pillared hall was intended. At least two pillars were intended, for there are cuttings which indicate that the dimensions of the pillars was to have been ca. 107x108 cm., therefore roughly comparable to those in the main hall (F). As discussed earlier , Fa connects with KV.11 and the present access to the lower chambers of KV.10 .

Cutting through and down wards in the pillared hall should be either a ramp or stairway leading to the lower corridors. At present , the debris in F covers this descent and thus its exact nature will not be known until the clearance of the hall . The ramp should lead into G corridor, another corridor whose doorway is now only partly visible near the centre of the back wall of the chamber. As only a small portion of this doorway is visible, it was not possible to get a measurement. The inner faces of the pillars should be roughly flush with the descent and thus we may estimate that the corridor will be ca. 2.60-2.70m, in width. Earlier explors were only able to crawl ca. 18 m. beyond the pillared hall, but now even that slight opening is choked with

(35)"Merely badly coloured on bad plaster" as quoted in Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis*, p. 110.

turab[36]. A distance of ca. 18 m. beyond the pillared hall should put one beyond G corridor and into yet another, corridor H. How much farther KV.10 may extend beyond the start of H chamber has yet to be determined.

This concludes our descriptive notes on the various chambers and corridors of KV.10, our report will resume by drawing together various materials on the architecture, the debris and flood damage, some historical observations and finally, a few remarks on our major aims for the second season of work.

ARCHITECTURE

In our discussion of the various tomb chambers we called attention to a number of alterations and emendations which are needed on the previously published plans of KV.10. Some of the minor changes have already been incorporated in an approximate manner in our plan and section presented in our Fig.1. Some of the changes will have to await the clearance and remapping of the tomb. The main changes noted thus far may be summarized as follows :

Just inside the A/B entrance way the ceiling is flat (level) above the thicknesses and the scene of the king before Re-Horakhy. Ca.3m. into the chamber there is a lintel decorated in raised relief with a winged sundisc; it is at this point the descent propre begins. The surviving original decoration here also changes to sunk relief at least in the sporadic traces which we have seen thus far.

In C chamber the ceiling is virtually flat inside the doorway and above the thicknesses. The ledges are not in a separate recess, but are flush with the sides of the chamber. The resulting plan (Fig. 1 and Fig. 8) is thus much simpler. A still more significant change (not included in our adapted plan/section) is that the angle of descent in C appears to be but about 10 degrees less than previously indicated. The lessening of the slope in C may require a comparable lessening of the descents in B and D as well. As newly gained measurements are primarily available for most of C chamber only, we continue to use Thomas angle of slope in our Fig. 1.

In E the ceiling is flat, not sloped, the ledges of the Thomas plan appear non-existent, should they lie hidden under the debris, they would probably come flush with the sides of the chamber (as in C). As indicated earlier, the matter of a pit or

(36) *Ibid.*, p. 110-111.

well have to await excavation.

Measurements in F chamber were made awkward by both the excessive debris and poor condition of the pillars. The largest pillar (D) measure ca. 109 x 110 cm. Pillar B at ca. 105 x 98 cm. is the smallest. The basic dimensions of pillars in royal tombs in the Wadi is ca. 105 x 105 cm.,[37] so the KV.10 pillars are reasonably close to the norm.

As chambers A through F exhibit traces decoration (much apparently completed) and as there are the additional embellishments of the unfinished pillared hall annex (Fa) and the completed but undecorated small side chamber in B (Ba), it is safe to assume that the construction of the tomb and a goodly portion of its decoration was well advanced during the reign of Amenmesse. As early explores penetrated to what must have been corridor H, the chances that a burial chamber was hewn or at least initiated seem rather promising. Of course it will be a number of seasons of excavation before we are able to determine the full extent of KV.10.

A number of the general features of the KV.10 exhibit a greater likeness to Merneptah's KV-8 than the (presumed) later tombs of Sety II, Siptah and Tawosret (usurped by Sethnakht).[38] KV.10's size, arrangement of chambers and corridors and the angle of descent suggest that KV.10 should be the direct successor of KV. 8. Of course, many other factors must be weighed into the overall process of finding the correct place for Amenmesse and his monuments in the dynasty, but on the tomb alone, there is good cause to follow the historical sequence : Merneptah followed by Amenmesse.

DEBRIS AND FLOOD DAMAGE

Much of the known portions of KV.10 are yet filled with *turab*. Based upon our recent observations, it appears safe to assume that most (if not all) of this debris was

(37) H.Altenmüller, "*Bemerkungen zu zen neu gefundenen Daten im Grab der Königen Tawosre* (KV.14) *im Tal der Könige von Theben*" in N. Reeves, *After Tutankhamun*, p. 142.

(38) Compare the known chambers of KV.10 (our fig.1) with KV. 8 in Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis*, p. 94. Angle of descent in KV-10 is a bit less, but both have a side chamber off the pillared hall and these side chamber were likewise pillared or as in the case of KV. 10, intended to have pillars. Corridor dimensions and proportions are also similar.

introduced by flood waters. The tomb had been open and partly accessible in classical times and may have remained open since that time. If it was ever sealed in the New Kingdom era, that may have been the only time that it has been fully closed since its construction.[39] Some early investgators shifted about some debris in the pillared hall, started a small pit in E chamber and also created a crawl channel in D and E. The largest clearance work known to date was that undertaken by Ayrton, who cleaned out much of B and part of C chambers. Considering the vast amount of *turab* present, our two days sondage in B was very minimal. For the most part, the bulk of the debris in KV.10 has been untouched.

Evidence of some flood damage is apparent in a number of tomb in the royal valley, though some of them are fortunate in that significant portions of their decoration has survived, often in excellent condition. The tombs of Merneptah, Sety II and Tawosret, for example, have some chambers wherein the plaster had been washed away, leaving a darb limestone surface which exhibits an occasional bit of the original decoration - namely those elements which had been cut deeply through the plaster and into the limestone. All of the sunk relief decoration presently available in KV.10 shows this same type of damage and the resulting state of preservation. It is only with the raised relief portions of the decoration near the entrance that one can site specific deliberate erasures in KV.10.

Romer attributes a massive flood to the period of Dyn. XIX,[40] one may speculate wetherer such a flood could have caused so much damage to Amenmesse's plastered scenes. We have considered the extremely odd chance that such a flood could have occurred as KV.10 was yet open and nearing completion. It is too early in to draw any conclusions, but the question of the flooding is one that plays a key role in unraveling the mysteries of KV.10. The matter of the redecorations for Takhat and Baketwerel we will save for our historical observations below. The date for the destruction of these later scenes, however, can perhaps be linked to flooding. As floods occured sporadically throughout the ages, more debris was introduced into the tomb. As the level of the rubble increased, the damaged area included more of

(39) Had KV. 10 ever been used for the interments of Amenmesse, Takhat and/or Baketwerel, it would have been sealed on one or more occasions very early in its history.

(40) J. Romer, *Valley of the Kings*, p.157.

the upper parts of the walls. Where patches of plaster yet cling tenuously to the ceiling, they are warped and brittle. The Takhat and Baketwerel scenes were yet visible in the 1880's, so their demise has come about relatively recently. The last great flood in the valley was in 1916. Very likely that flood was to blame for the destruction of much of this material[41]. The surviving scene with Baketwerel looks extremely fragile. No doubt one more flooding would remove what little now remains. Thus there is a sense of urgency in gathering as much information as possible of the traces of decoration in E and F chambers before any more evidence is forever.

HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS

There are many "unknowns" present when dealing with Amenmesse. His origins and even his place in the sequence of late Dyn. XIX kings are yet debated. The varied historical reconstructions of the era not in any way due to a lack of materials, for we have the pertinent royal tombs, a variety of additions to temples, statuary, stelae, the royal necropolis workmen's village and their tombs at Deir el Medineh, plus a number of graffiti, ostrca and papyri. The specific type of evidence required to resolve a number of the problems has been exlusive. As we have only begun our investigation of KV.10, it is far too soon to draw any firm conclusions, but a few comments on some of the key issues will be offered.

There are a few established facts about Amenmesse which can be cited, there is absolutely no question that he reigned sometime during the latter part of Dyn. XIX and that his reign lasted nearly four years[42]. Whether of royal or non-royal origin,

(41) *Ibid.*, p. 278.

(42) E. Hornung, *Untersuchungen Zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 96. We will refrain from presenting a litany of reconstructions at this time. No doubt Amenmesse is to be identified with Manetho's Ammenemnes, cf. Waddell, *Manetho*, Cambridge 1956, p.149 ff. Strange, but the only late Dyn. XIX king to appear on Ramses III's list of honoured ancestors is Sety II, but in the surviving remnants of Manetho, only Ammenemes (= Amenmesse) and Thuoris (=Tawosret) are cited.

he is probably to be considered a "usurper".[43] His major monuments appears to be his tomb; other monuments generally consist of statuary or relatively minor additions to existing mounuments.[44]

Evidence regarding Amenmesse's origins are not clear. Krauss identified him with the Viceroy of Kush, Messui, a supposed son of one of the kings of the dynasty [45]. However, other interpretations of basically the same evidence places Messui in the official class, not from the royal family[46]. In large measure, discussions of Amenmesse's parentage have relied heavily on his associations with the king's Mother Takhat (depicated in KV.10's E chamber), but this particular Takhat claims no titles which establish a clear link with the families of Ramses II or Merneptah.[47] Our recent investigation has established that the Takhat scenes are secondary, therefore most likely "post-Amenmesse" in date. This sequence of decoration and redecoration has the effect of reducing the certainty of the previously "established" relationship of Takhat as the mother of Amenmesse.

The late Dyn. XIX and early Dyn.XX royal monuments deal very sparingly with the queens and royal womenfolk in general. "Takhat" is a name which emerges on a number of occasions in the New Kingdom, but it seems unlikely that all such mentions deal with one and the same person. The name Baketwerel is attested in

(43) Sety-Merneptah (Sety II) was clearly identified as the crown prince designate in the time of Merneptah, cf. note 59 below.

(44) For listing of Amenmesse's monuments, cf. the exhaustive study by Krauss, "*Untersuchungen zu* König", SAK 4, 1976, p. 161 ff. and SAK 5 1977, p. 131 ff. Cf. also H. Gauthier, LdR III, p. 127-130. There is often difficulty in attributing monuments because many of the usurpations by Sety II were done with a great thoroughness insofar as removing the original name(s) is concerned. Many such usupartions may have been from Amenmesse, but not necessarily all.

(45) Krauss, *SÄK* V, p. 136.

(46) Gutgesell and Schmitz, "Die Familie des Amenmesse," *SAK* 9, 1981, p. 140.

(47) Krauss identifies KV.10's Takhat with a daughter of Ramses II and a wife of Sety II, cf. *SAK* 5, p. 137-139.

KV.10 and also as a name of a Ramses IX[48]. As neither the Takhat nor the Baketwerel of KV.10 claim such titles as King's daughter, it is difficult to establish family connections and leaves much room for speculation. The women's scenes in KV.10 are clearly a redecoration, but the key question before us concerns the *time span* separating the conclusion of the Amenmesse work and the introduction of the new decoration. It seems unlikely that Amenmesse would have ordered his scenes to be removed and replaced by the ladies' materials. If this suggestion be acceptable, then the time frame for the redecoration could fall anytime from the immediate post-Amenmesse era at the earliest down to the reign of Ramses IX at the latest. This gives us over a century in time in which to place the redecoration.

For the present we are not eliminating any theories from consideration. We still cannot state with any certainty if Amenmesse, Takhat or Baketwerel were ever buried in KV.10. The tomb could have been abandoned, assuming that Amenmesse may have fled or been exiled as a result of a power struggle, but his wife and mother may have been permitted to readom parts of the tomb for their own use. While the women's scenes can be characterized as "post-Amenmesse", it may be premature to dismiss them from any associations with Amenmesse. In his detailed commentary on the surviving Baketwerel scene above, Ertman called attention to some artistic details in KV.10 which are also known from other late Dyn. XIX contexts ; if such stylistic connections be established, there is yet a fair chance that Baketwerel and Takhat may date to the latter part of Dyn. XIX.

It is generally assumed that Takhat and Baketwerel are mother and queen respectively of the same king. So little of the redecoration in E remains that comparisons of the style and workmanship are difficult. Tombs in the royal valley have, on occasion, yielded stray human remains which are often deemed as

(48)A. Dodson, "The Takhats and Some Other Royal ladies of the Ramesside Period", *JEA* 73, 1987, p. 224 ff. This theory makes Baketwerel the wife of Ramses IX, who prepared parts of KV.10 for her burial (or reburial). Apparently this Baketwerel already had a tomb (location unknown) in the QV, but that would not necessarily rule out the possibilty of reburial (discussed by Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis*, p. 270). The name "Baketwerel" is fairly common in the New Kingdom, cf. H. Ranke, *PN* I, 90.

intrusive[49]. It is one thing to inter someone in a plundered or abandoned royal tomb, but surely quite another matter to add or alter the decoration on the walls. The titles of the royal women do not establish the identity of their king , but then such information is not commonly expressed in queen's tombs[50]. That fact that Takhat and Baketwerel were *permitted* to readon parts of KV.10 for their own use must not be overlooked in the search for explanations. For now we will continue to assume that the Takhat and Baketwerel scenes are roughly contempoprary and that their associtions are with the same king. Amenmesse still remains a candidate for that role.

The problem of some of relationships can be attacked from a different angle. One Takhat appears to have been a wife of Sety II[51]. Surely if Sety II's wife were indentical with KV.10's Takhat, we would have just cause to expect her identification to include king's wife, not merely king's Mother. For whom might KV.10's Takhat qualify as king's Mother in late Dyn. and beyond. The mothers of Sety II and Siptah are probably known[52]. The main choices fall to Amenmesse and Sethnakht (founder of Dyn. XX). Little is known of Sethnakht's origins ; he did intiate KV.11 and abandon it after coming into contact with Amenmesse's tomb. Thus Sethnakht was aware of KV.10, even if it had been sealed and covered over at that time. A late Dyn.XX involvement plays a role in Dodson's theory, which identifies Baketwerel of KV.10 with the like named queen of Ramses IX[53]. We lack names of many queens in Dyn. XX and in theory, the royal ladies of KV.10 could fall into place almost any

(49) So N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings*, regard to remains from KV. 14 (p.111), KV. 47 (p. 107) and KV. 11(p. 115).

(50) E. Hornung, *Valley of the Kings*, p.187.

(51) Statue, Cairo 1198, cf. L. Borchardt , *Statuen und Statuetten*, IV, p. 97-99 and pl.169. The name of Sety II is "original" according to Krauss, *SAK* 5, p. 138 and others. Yet some claim that there is evidence of tampering, cf. Edgerton's observations as reported by Gardiner "Only one king Siptah and Tawosre not his Wife," *JEA* 44, 1958 , p. 17.

(52) Merneptah's chief queen, Isis-nofret, was probably the mother of Sety II, cf. Gauthier, LdR III, 125. Siptah's mother was one Tyaa : cf. C. Aldred , "The Parentage of Siptah," *RdE* 23, 1971, p. 171-172 and pl. II. The arrangement of the glyphs and the lack of cartouche of the Louvre fragment is not especially reassuring.

where from late Dyn.XIX through the end of Dyn. XX, but at the present time we feel that the most likely associations to be established(assuming the evidence exists) will centre around Amenmesse, Sethnakht or Ramses IX.

The unusual nature of the removal of the raised reliefs scenes and texts near the entranceway of KV.10 strongly suggest remodeling and redecorating rather than simple desecration. As the Litany of Re and its key scene of the king before Re-Harokhty are such vital elements in royal decoration of the era , it seems hardly likely that Amenmesse himself had inteded any radical changes. Though Amenmesse's names and titles indicate a strong connection with Amun, there is no indication that he was attempting to impose some radical religious upheaval[54]. The erasure of his raised relief scenes near the entrance may have had some bearing on the redecoration of E and F chambers for the women ; the distinctly "kingly" scenes may not have been deemed propre for the ladies[55] . In any event, the more fragile sunk reliefs from B Through F chambers may have already been damaged by flood waters before the redecoration for the women. And had one of Amenmesse's successors intended to usurp KV.10, it seems highly unlikely that the raised relief decoration would have been removed; a more alternation of names and few details would have sufficed to create the identity of a new owner. At present there is no clear indication of the reason(s) for the erasures and some of the other questions regarding the decoration in KV.10. It is hoped that in the process of clearing the recording the tomb some cogent reconstruction of the events will emerge.

The positions of Amenmesse in the sequence of the kings of the late Dyn. XIX is not yet established beyond a question of doubt, relatively recent reconstructions have had Amenmesse as succesor to Merneptah, an interloper during the reign of Sety II

(53) *JEA* 73, p. 224 ff.

(54) Von Beckerath makes far too much of the supposed religious strife between Amenmesse and Siptah in his *Tanis und Theben*, Glückstadt 1951, p. 70-76. It matters little as Von Beckerath has since adopted a new reconstruction (cf. below). Whatever problems were associated with the dynastic intrigues of the late Dyn. XIX, religious factors do not appear to have been a significant cause.

(55) Discussed by Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis*, p. 110.

and also interloper during the time of Siptah. So varied a range of reconstructions reflects the awkward nature of the evidence. In the process of our work in KV.10 it is hoped that some new evidence will emerge which will shed some light on the question. At this early stage of our investigations it is best to delav on such matters until such evidence is available. We will, however, comment briefly on the various theories.

Amenmesse as an interloper during the reign of Siptah is the weakest option, even its major advocate has abandoned it.[56] Simply put, Amenmesse gained control of the crown from Siptah, held power for several years and was finally driven out by Siptah, who regained the throne. And yet, while this civil war raged, the necropolis workmen seemed to have had an exceptionally active schedule, for there is evidence of work on Siptah's tomb in Year 1, some work on Tawosret's tomb in Year 2, a further diversification with work on Bay' tomb in Year 3[57], all this, plus bringing KV.10 to near completion. It seems highly unlikely that all these monuments could have been advanced in so brief a period and under supposedly civil war conditions. One might also inject the old theory which Aldred has resurrected, namely, that Amenmesse and Siptah appear to have formed a sub-dynasty ; Alderd expanded on this and even suggest that Amenmsse was the father of Siptah[58]. The proposed family connections of Amenmesse and Siptah remain possibilities, but it seems reasonably clear that the "interloper during the reign of Siptah" theory is the least likely scenario of those listed above.

There is no doubt that Sety (II)-Merneptah was the crown prince designate as indicated by his pre-royal titles.[59] One could speculate that Merneptah had a change

(56) Von Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben*, p. 75-76 and still followed in part by J. Vandier, *RdE* 23, p. 187. In his "Die Reihenfolge der letzten könige der 19. Dynastie", *ZDMG* 106, 1956, p. 246-247, von Beckerath adopts the "interloper during Sety II" theory.

(57) Texts referring to these activities can be found in *KRI* IV, p. 396 and 404.

(58) *JEA* 49, p. 46-47.

(59) Under Merneptah, Sety-Merneptah (Sety II) was represented as the king's Eldest Son and Hereditary prince upon the Throne of the Two Lands, cf. H. Gauthier, *LdR* III, 125-126. *š3 nśwt śmśw* and *r-pꜥt* are recognized titles of a crown prince. cf. *Wb*, II, p. 415. The extra qualifier ("upon the throne of the Two Lands") merely underlines the claim.

of heart late in his reign and appointed Amenmesse, but there is absolutely no evidence in this regard. Therefore, whether one accepts Amenmesse as a grandson of Ramses II, a son of Merneptah or Merely some power-grabbing official, the designation "usurper" appears most appropriate. Though a number of monuments of Amenmesse were usurped by Sety II, that in itself is not proof that Amenmesse succeeded Merneptah, but it does suggest that Sety II ruled after Amenmesse. In many historical reconstructions there is basically agreement with regard to Sety II completing his reign after Amenmesse. The question to be determined is whether Amenmesse ruled first or merely displaced Sety II for a period of time. The interloper theory is set forth in considerable detail by krauss[60] and is one of the two main theories which is likely to be peoven in the future. In a sense, scholars are trying to determine the events which took place days or perhaps hours just before and immediately after the death of Merneptah. At least the succession Sety II- Siptah appears established[61].

We have drawn attention to some of the features of KV.10 which mark it as the most likely successor to KV.8 of Merneptah. Furthermore, Amenmesse's monuments are often usurped, and most commonly by Sety II ; even Sety II's vizier apparently usurped the tomb of one of Amenmesse's viziers.[62] There is now little doubt that Sety II's reign falls primarily *after* that of Amenmesse, but the all-important beginning of the reign has yet to be determined. As a working hypothesis, the staff of the UAEE has adopted the royal sequence Merneptah, Amenmesse, Sety II, Siptah and Taworest. There are a host of other materials which must be considered in the overall evaluation of the evidence and we have hopes that tha clearance and recording of KV.10 will provide new data. We are out to find solutions, not prove any particular theory.

Some comments on the name of king Amenmesse are necessary. In the raised

(60) Cf. note 44 above.

(61)E. Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur chornologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden 1964) , p. 96 and also Wente and ch. Van Siclen, *Kingd*"A Chronology of the New om" *Honor Studies in of George R. Hughes. Chicago* 1976, p. 236.

(62) L. Habachi, " King Amenmesse and/viziers Amenmose and Kha emtore : Their Monuments and Place in History", *MDAIK* 34, 1978, esp. pp. 62-67.

relief decoration near the entrance of the tomb, the cartouche names are clearly *Mn-mỉ-Rᶜ śtp-n-Rᶜ* and *ỉmn-mś.s ḥḳ3-w3st*. In the few partially preserved writings of the nomen found scattered in the sunk relief portions of the decoration, there are some variations. The prenomen occasionally has the epithet "Beloved of Re". The nomen has figures of Amun and Re leading the signs in the cartouche and there are no other signs which might accompany the Re figure. The only reading possible is that of "Amen-Re-messe". First thoughts were that in one of the incomplete writtings there was some scribal omission, but there are other examples from elsewhere in which one finds the variant Amenmesse.[63] If these variations reflect more than a minor vacillation of forms has yet to be determined.

KV.10 was decorated for Amenmesse, but was it initiated for him and was he ever buried therein? Chambers A through F were clearly decorated for Amenmesse, but unless foundation deposits exist (and could be located), the reign in which the tomb was begun will be a matter of uncertainty. As indicated earlier in our discussion, a search for deposits would be difficult because of the prior digging in the area and the construction retaining walls. It should be possible to examine the area immediaty adjacent to the entrance area A, but this we expect would be attempted later in the investigations. Based upon the depicitions in KV.10, it is safe to assume that burials for Amenmesse, Takhat and Baketwerel were *intended* . At the present time, we cannot make any definite pronouncements regarding specific burials. The excessive *turab* may conceal evidence in this regard . From what can be seen now, there are no traces of any sealing of the doorways, but then such evidence could have been washed away by flood waters (most likely) or else lie hidden under the rubble (less likely perhaps). No doubt our investigation of KV.10 will solve some of these problems, and probably create a few new ones as well.

SECOND SEASON

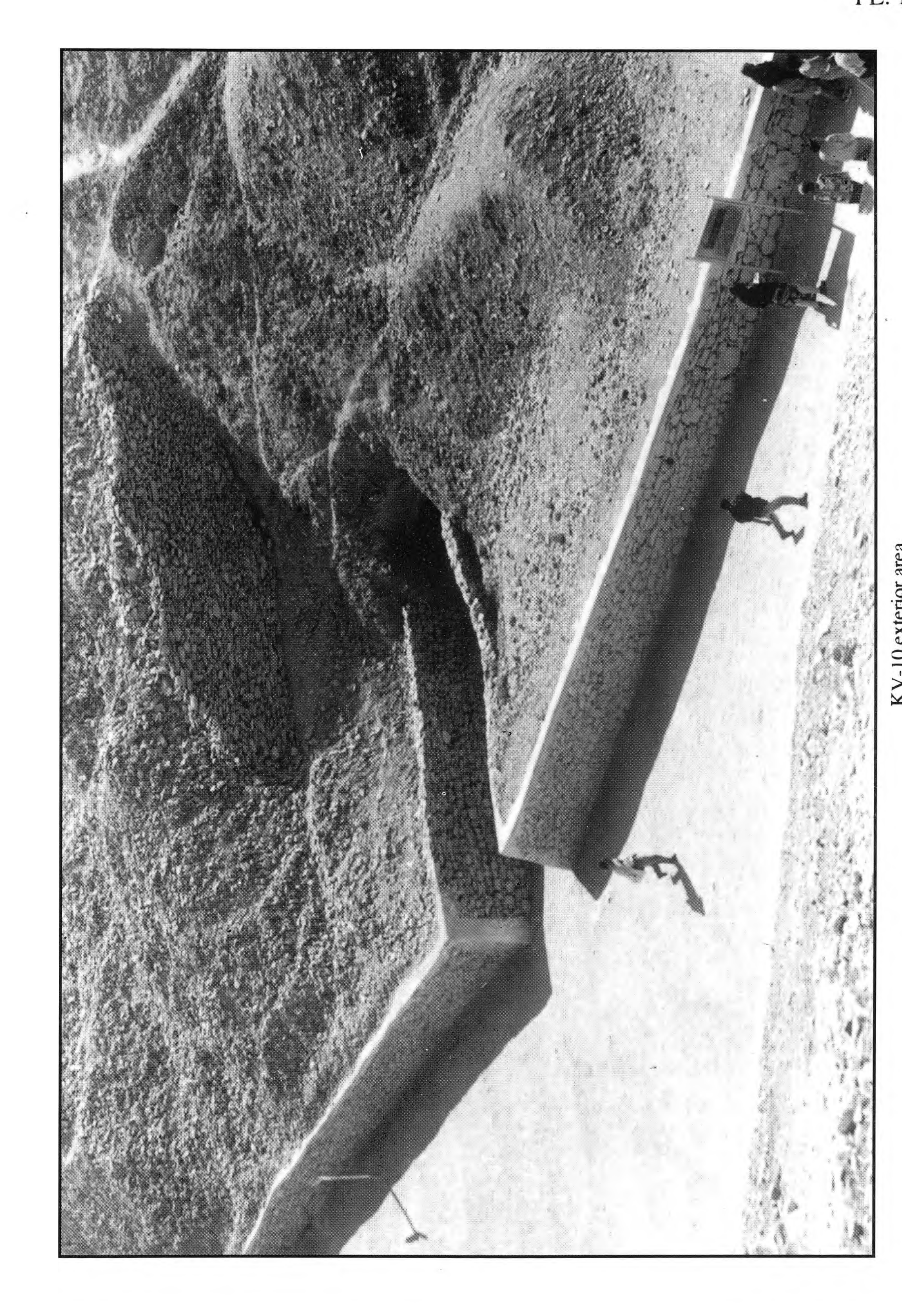
The first season was brief and basically exploratory in nature, seeking to get a better grasp of the host of problems and tasks which lie ahead. The great amount of

(63) For example, R. Caminos, "Two stelae in the Kurneh temple of Sethos I," in *Firchow Ägyptologische Studien*, Berlin 1955, p. 20 and A. Dodson, *"King Amenmesse at Riqqa," GM* 117/118,

rubble and the possibility of the existence of chambers and decoration beyond the pillared hall make it difficult to schedule a set number of seasons for the work. In our next season, the aims will be to emphasize the removal of debris from the upper chambers (hopefully B and C) and to copy and study the decorative traces in chambers E and F. As we expect a number of seasons will be needed, we wish to get the clearance moving ahead as soon as possible.

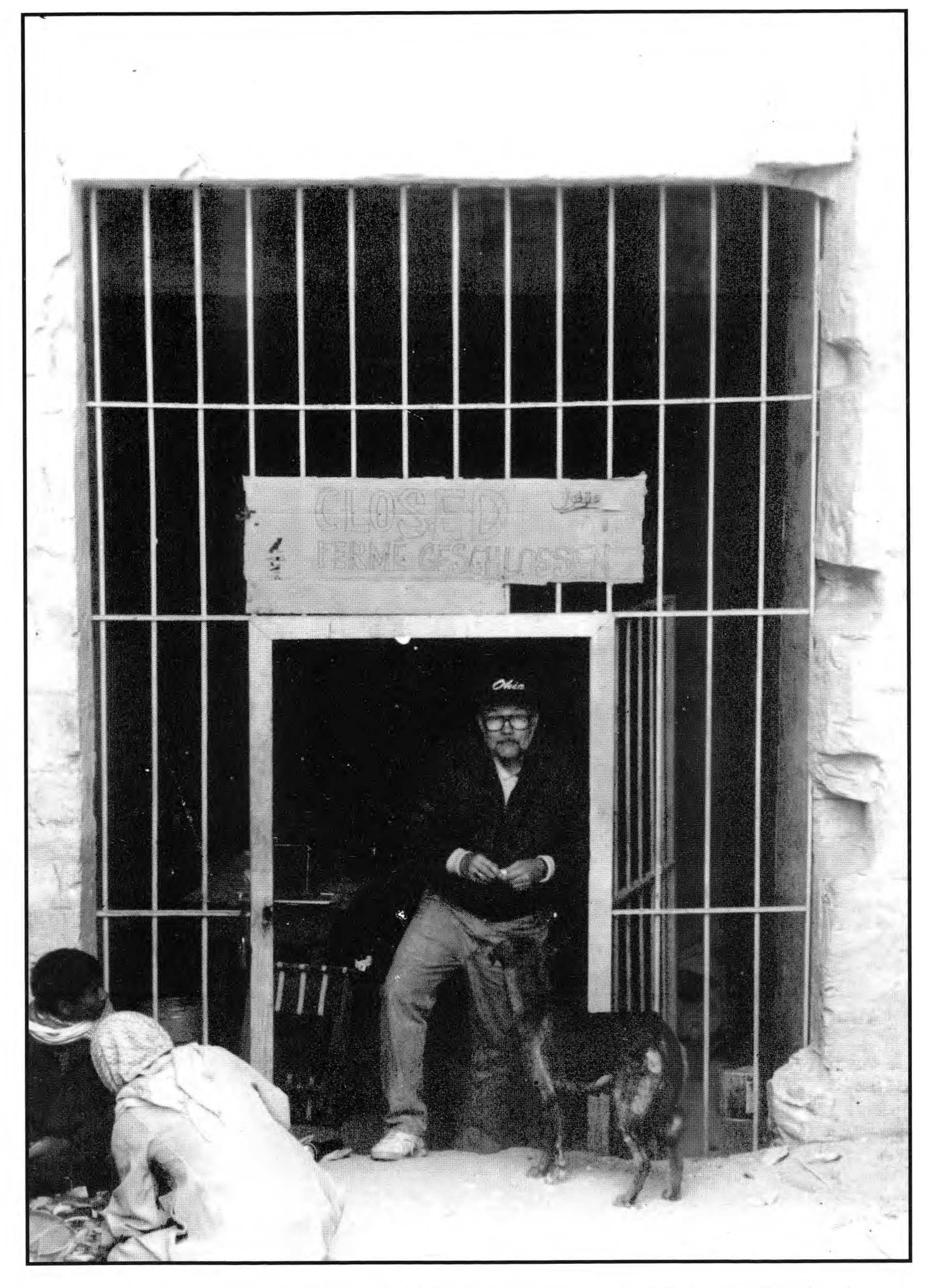
Meanwhile, the resumption of the study of the scenes in E and F chambers should not have to await clearance to that point. As so much of the decoration has been lost in the past century, further delays could result in the loss of what little plaster now remains. With the pesent rubble fill, access to the upper parts of the walls can be accomplished relatively easily. An attempt must also be made to see if the surviving Baketwerel scene can be fortified and saved. At present, plans for the second season are developing nicely. Our renewal request has been approved by the EAO and the necessary funding has been assured. Work will probably resume shortly after the middle of May 1993.

1990, p. 154.



KV-10,exterior area.

Pl.II

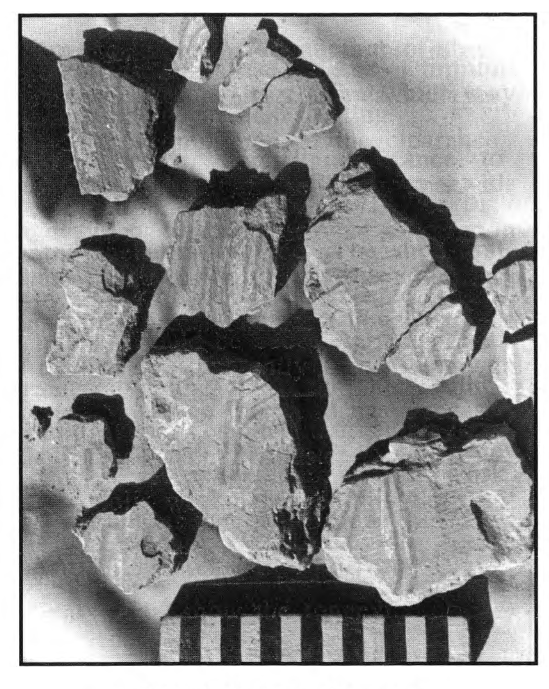


Entrance into the tomb.Note fault in upper and cuttings into the right jamb.

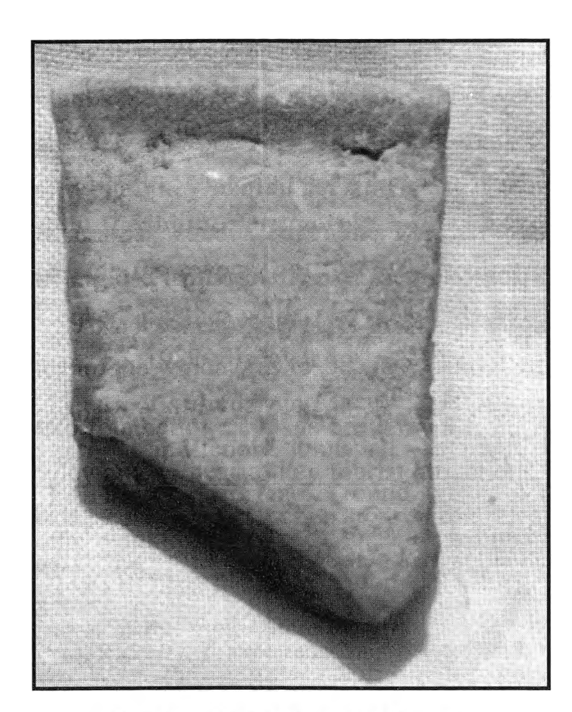
PL.III



Thickness of gamb,right side,of entrance into B chamber.The decoration...winged Maat goddess on a basket...has been chiseled away but the outline is yet traceable.



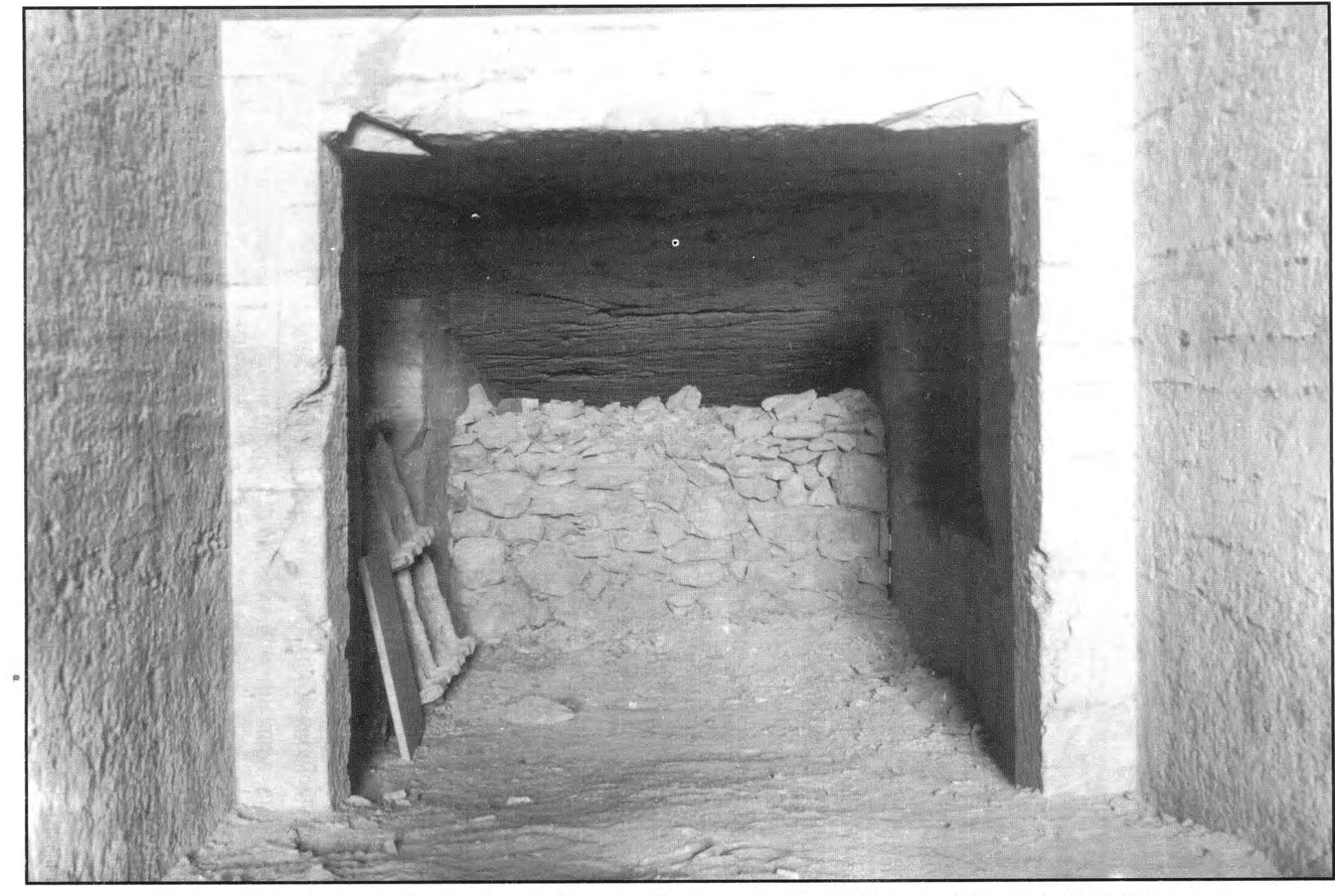
a-Decorated plaster fragments
from the ceiling(Bchamber.



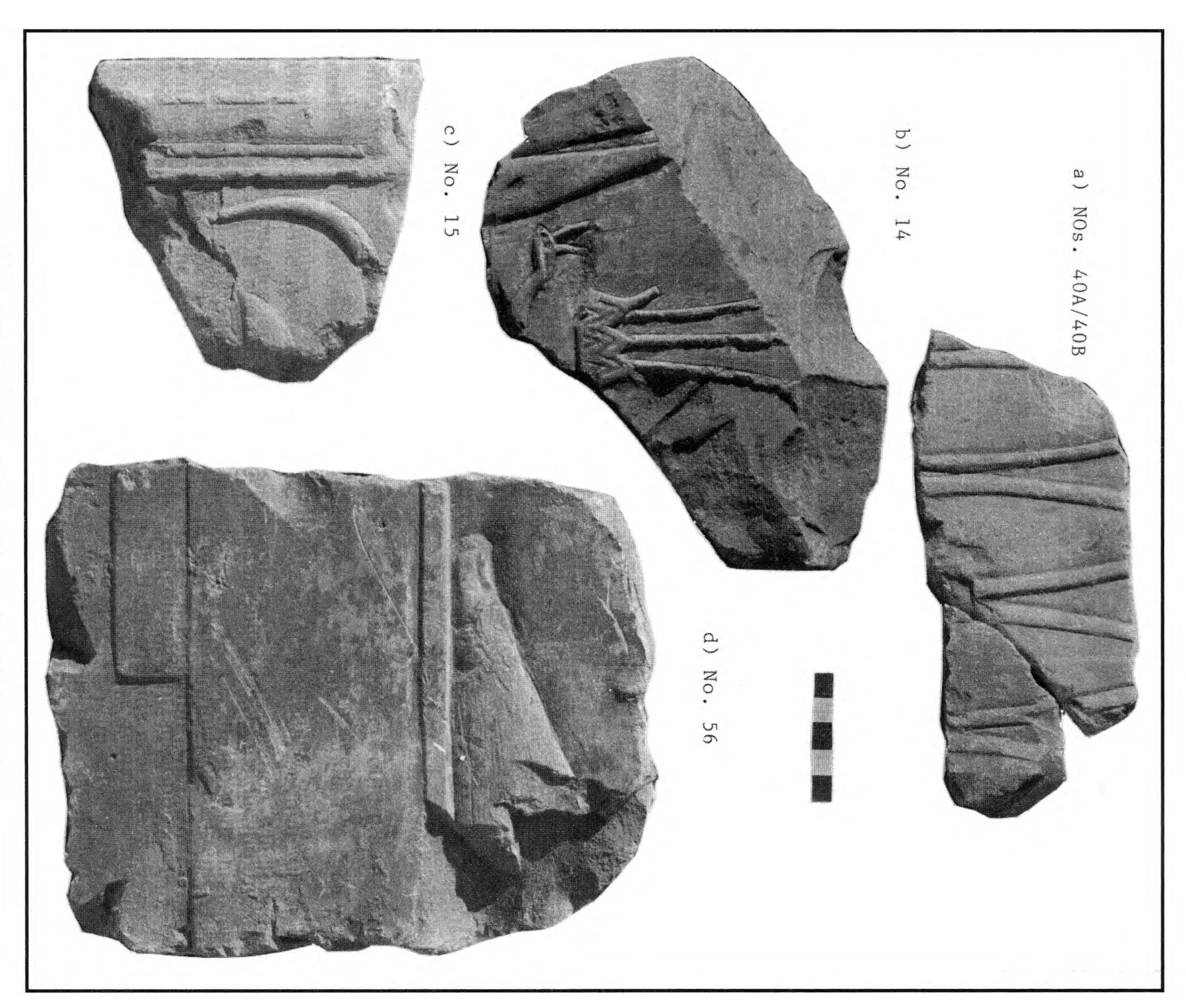
b- Blue- glazed rim sherd from a
small jar (B chamber sondage).



Partlypreserved amenmesse cartouche on inner left Jamb doorway to C chamber.



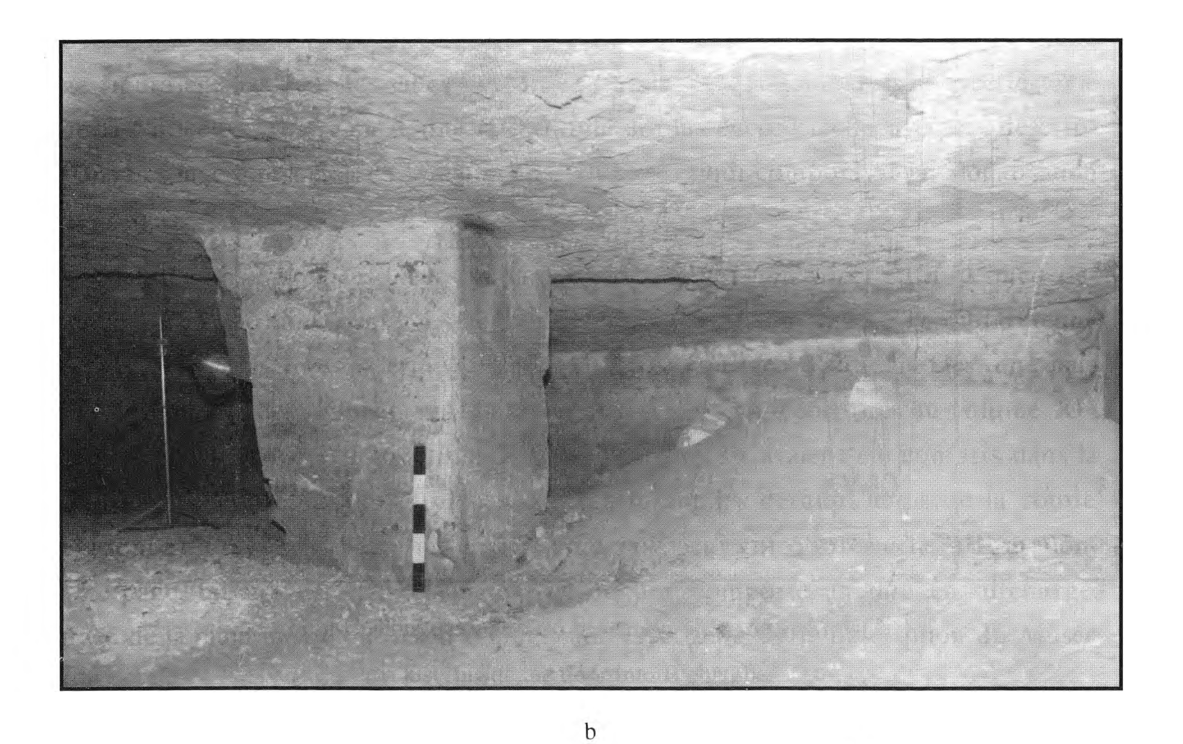
Doorway to C chamber.Ledges in C are partly visible.The dry wallmarks the begining of the relatively undisturbed debris in C chamber.The largeslab at the left is the left is the 1954 movie prop with the names of king Rahotep.



Decorated limestone fragments with raised relief,C chamber.

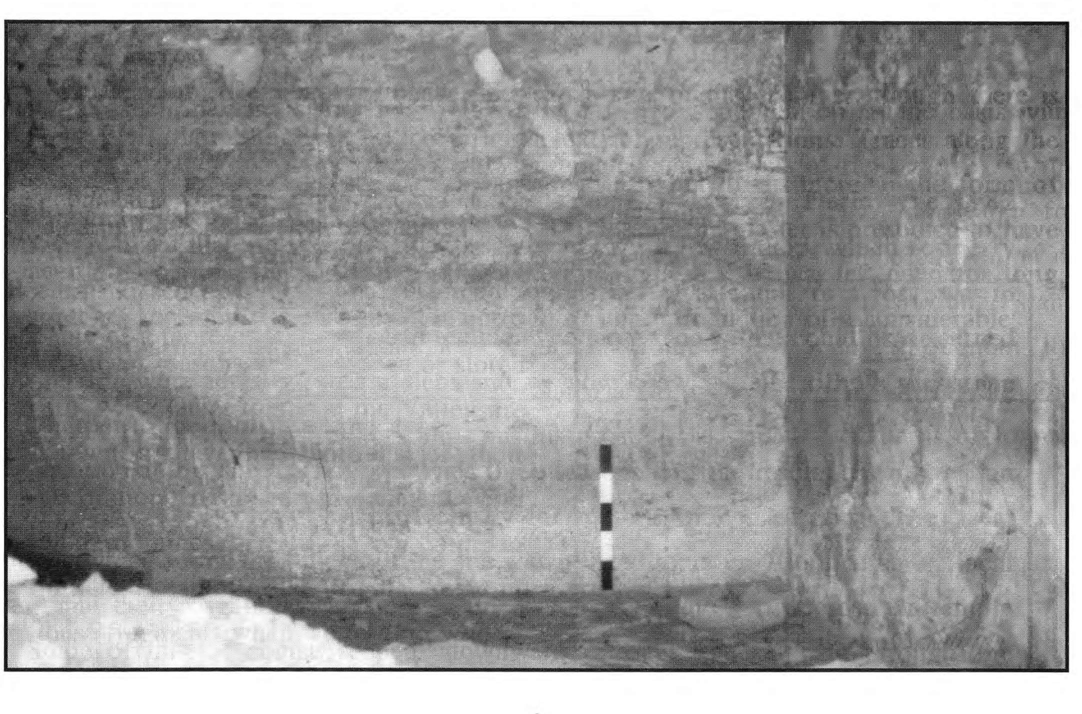
Pl.VIII

a



b

Pl.IX



a

b

MUMIA AEGYPTIACA USED IN THE ART OF HEALING DURING THE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES
A SMALL CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF EGYPTOLOGY

Hindrik STRANDBERG

In the history of Egyptology, but specially in the history of Medicine, the unique Egyptian mummies constitute a special chapter. Together with preserved pictures and literary documents[1], mummies are the most important sources through which our modern medical and interdisciplinary sciences have been able to a great extent to increase our knowledge about ancient Pharaonic medicine. So thanks to the ancient Egyptian belief, which stated preserving of the body as a condition for an eternal life, such unique material as the mummies has been created. But this "material" has in many cases, also been used in the " wrong way".

EMBALMING

The mummies form "material" the creation of which goes back to the Prehistoric times when, according to P. Ghalioungui, the Egyptians, like most Neolithic peoples were content with burying their dead directly in the soil, either naked or covered with a loose linen or hide shroud. As long as the bodies remained above the level of subsoil water, in the hot porous desert, they dried, were thoroughly disinfected and could, thereafter, keep indefinitely a good shape. Such naturally mummified bodies may still be discovered today in the desert, so that one may well ask oneself whether the Egyptians belief in eternity did not arise from the sight of their ancestors preserved in their original shape long after death[2].

Later on, during the first dynastic periods in Egypt, special burial chambers, room-like spaces, were made. But due to the fact that in these the body could not come into close contact with the desiccating porous soil of the desert, the conservation for an eternal life had to be made in an *artificial* way . Eventually this

(1) D. L. Mumier, " Konst och papyrus", *Nordisk Medicinhistorisk aarsbok*, 1979, p. 26.

(2) P. Ghalioungui, *"The House of Life. Per Ankh." Magic and Medical Science in Ancient Egypt*, Amsterdam BM Israel 1973, p. 160-162.

led to the creation of the art of embalming. whose height occurred during the New Kingdom from the XVth to the Xth centuries BC and lasted until the beginning of the Christian era. According to the Christian faith. The preservation of the body was no longer a condition for eternal life. Unfortunately, we do not have any contemporary information about how mummification, the secret art of embalming, in fact was realized, but in general it can be reconstructed as follows: the body of the dead was protected from destruction by mummification, that is, desiccation. The liquids of the body were removed by packing the body in sodium hydroxide (natron) which consists of a mixture of soda and salt found in a natural state in Egypt. But before that, the organs of the chest and the abdomen had to be removed through an incision made in the abdomen in order to halt the process of putrefaction. The desiccated body was washed and treated with oils and resin from plants and at least wrapped up in linen bandages partly soaked in resin. Although the details of the embalming process changed during the more than three thousand years that the Egyptian culture lasted, the process changed during the more than three thousand years that the Egyptian culture lasted, the process on the whole was realized in the way explained above[3].

THE ORIGIN OF THE DRUG

During the thousands of years that the practice of emblaming lasted and the deceased were prepared for eternity, an enormous number of mummies was of course buried in the soil of Egypt. But, as we know, only a few of them are left. And that is why you may ask, with a good reason; "Where did all mummies go?"[4]. Even if an answer like " They were made into a drug" does not contain the whole truth, to a large extent it forms the truth. The resin in which the linen bandages were soaked in order to be affixed when they were wrapped around the mummy, is believed to be a kind of natural bitumen, the "Mountain Balsam", *Mumio, Mumia persica* called

(3) D. L. Mumier, "Magi och medicin", *Nordisk medicinhistorisk aarsbok*, 1975, p. 39-40.

(4) M.M. Pace, *Wrapped for Eternity. The Story of the Egyptian mummy.* McGraw-Hill Book Company, USA 1974, p. 126.

Mumiya in persian[5]. Hence the name mummy, which was a substance highly regarded for its medicinal value[6] . For that reason, it was in great demand, but very difficult to acquire. Even Avicenna wrote : "Mumia is mountain wax". It possesses the same strength and nature as solid and liquid bitumen when mixed together, but only it is even more effective.[7] This of course, gradually led to the fact that in order to get this valuable remedy, a search for mummies began: those which were found were dug up, but as time passed, people *forgot* that the embalmed bodies were prized not for *themselves* but for the bitumen or asphalt, mumio which they supposedly contained, so that the eventually therapeutic value was ascribed to the mummies themselves[8]. From classical antiquity onwards physicians believed that the basic ingredient in the mummy was bitumen or asphalt and that is why *ground mummy* as a drug was prescribed for both internal and external uses[9].

Because *mummy, mumio* as the wonder drug from the Orient has been known as a medicinal substance in oriental medicine for over three millennia and was prescribed by physicians, a great demand was created for so-called true mummy, *Mumia vera*, which perhaps might have been this mountain balsam, but which later, due to misunderstanding, was named *Mumia orientalis* or *Mumia aegyptica*. That is why, particularly in the 17th and the 18th centuries, despite the fact that digging for them in Egypt was prohibited, mummies became a big commodity for the European business houses which dealt with the Orient. Thus "so brisk was the trade in mummies to Europe that even after ransacking tombs and catacombs there just were not enough ancient Egyptian bodies to meet demand. And so fake mummies were fabricated from the corpses of executed criminals, the aged, the poor and those who had died from diseases, by burrying them in the sand like Ginger or stuffing them with

(5) M. P. Vantalathem, "Mumia", *Pharmaceutisch Tijdschrift voor Belgie* 51, 1974, p. 345-351.

(6) R. W. Carrubba, "The First Detailed Report on Persian Mummy", *Physis Rivista Internazionale di Storia della Scienza* 23, 1981, p. 459-463.

(7) A. Shakirov, "The Secrets of Mumio - The Mountain Balsam", *Sovetskii Usbekistan segodija na angliskom jazyike*, 1976, p. 8-9.

(8) Cf. n. 6.

(9) Cf. n. 6.

bitumen and exposing them to the sun[10] . In the 17th and the 18th centuries, *Mumia vera or Mumia aegyptica* or *Mumia alexandria* had to be for sale in every well-stocked pharmacy in Europe.

MEDICAL BOOKS AND PHARMACOPOEIAS

The first Scandinavian medical book was published in Danish in 1577[11], and the first one in Swedish, one year later, in 1578[12]. In this Swedish medical book, published by Doctor Benedictus Olai (1520-1582), *Mumia* or mummy is found a in remedy for nosebleed together with ten other ingredients. "Namely take Armenian Lapis Lazuli / Terra Sigillata / Dargon's blood / Two quarters of a half of one ounce of each. Grind them into a powder and mix them together with an eggwhite and put the drug into the nose"[13].

Furthermore, Benedicatus Olai mentions the use of mummy as an ingredient in so-called Cerata or Warm Styptics. He recommends mixing wax together with Greek resin, adding this to a powder which consist of Mastix, Amber, Mummy, Incense, Myrrh, Aloe, Hepatite, and then mixing them together until the wax and the Greek resin has cooled down after that adding some great tit[14] . About one hundred years later, mummy is still listed in the first Swedish pharmacopoeia, Pharmacopoeia Holmiensis, published in 1686[15], but now only as an ingredient in different kinds of plasters which, spread on a piece of fabric, were applied with the sticky side down onto the skin. In this Pharmacopoeia mummy is found as one of many ingredients in a plaser named Emplastrum Catagm aticum, used in the healing of fractures. Furthermore, together with about ten other ingredients, mummy is a part of plaster called *Emplastrum sticticum*, which has a dessicative effect as a kind of astringent.

(10) C. Andrews, *Egyptian Mummies*, British Museum Publications, London 1984, p. 69.

(11) H. Smid, *Henrick Smids Laegebok...*, Copenhagen 1577.

(12) B. Olai, *Een Nyttigh Laekere Book* ..., Stockholm 1578.

(13) *Op. cit.*, p. XXV-XXVI, XXVI, XXXVIII, CXCI.

(14) *Ibid.*

(15) Pharmacopoeja Holmiensis. Galeno Chymica. Complectens Compositionses apprime necessarias usibus hodiernis destinatas, earumq consiciendi modos, Stockholm 1686, p. 65, 66, 75, 77, 114.

Even the famous Swedish doctor and botanist, Carl von Linne (1707-1778) mentions mummy, ***Mumia in Aegypto***, in his Materies Medica published in 1763, but he does not say anything about the use of it[16]. Perhaps the use of *Mummy*, Mumiae has played a more important role than we today can imagine. The wide spread use of it was even scientifically noticed as late as the end of the 18th century. Namely, the medicinal use and the access of Mummy, *Mumiae* has been thoroughly described in a special chapter, *De Mumiae usu medico* by Johan Leche in his dissertation entitled "*De Mumia aegyptiaca*" published in Uppsala, Sweden in 1789[17]. In a later edition of the Swedish Pharmacopoeia, published in 1775 mummy has been left out of the ingredients of drugs[18].

THE USE OF THE DRUG

Although mummy is an ingredient of some drugs, which can be more or less exactly documented in the medical books and pharmacopoeas mentioned above, mumy has also been used in many more cases.

It is said that mummy was reputed to be an antidote for poisons to correct disorders of the liver, to aid the heart and lungs, to cure ulcers, to dissolve blood clots, to heal internal injuries and to unite bone fractures[19]. But mummy has even been used for such afflications as epilepsy, headache, palpitation, cough, antrax, sprains, scorpion bites, anaemia and asthma and as a remedy for delivery pains. It could also be mentioned that mummy was used as a kind of elixir of life[20]. Although mummy was not listed in the pharmacopoeias any longer, this does not seem to have stopped the Scandinavian pharmacies, at least, from offering mummy, even as late as the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. In Denmark mummy powder seems to

(16) C.V. Linne, *Materies Medica* , Liber II & III, Stockholm 1763, p. 1.

(17) J. Leche, *Disputatio Historico-Medica De Mumia Aegyptiaca*, Uppsala 1739.

(18) *Pharmacopoeia Svecia*, Stockholm 1775.

(19) Cf. n. 6.

(20) Cf. n. 5.

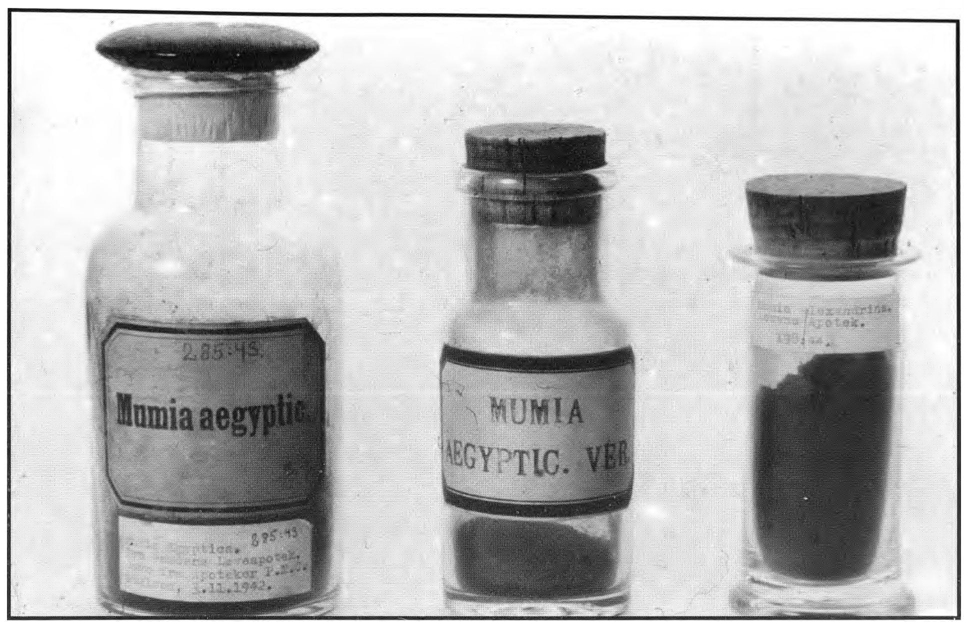
have been used as late as the beginning of the 20th century in veterinary medicine in order to increase the milk production of cows[21].

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, I will say that, despite all kinds of prohibitions, falsifications and bans on export, for centuries *Mummy, Mumia vera,* has formed an appreciated remedy, which together with cobweb, hare's fur, terra sigillata and several other ingredients has been used in the art of healing. Today medicine jars with an inscription *Mumia vera* or *Mumia aegyptica* is curiosity principally found in the pharmacy museums. But they represent a chapter in the history of Egyptology as well as the history of Medicine and Pharmacy which gives us evidence of how misunderstanding connected with forgetfulness gradually brought on the fact that "doctors" began to use the wrong substance, the embalmed body itself, instead of the natural bitumen, mumio, mountain balsam or asphalt with which the linen bandages were soaked, as a wonder-producing medicine.

In conclusion I would like to state that the story of *Mumia aegyptica* the mummy powder, forms an interesting, but heretofore only partly investigated, chapter in the history of Egyptology, where the glorifying and mystification of Egypt and its mummies has played an important role.

(21) H. Nielsen, *Mumia vera, Foreningen Mediciwnhistoriska Museets vaenner*, Aarsskrift 1959.



1- Although mummy powder, Mumia aegyptica has not been sold for centuries, samples of this article have been saved. The picture shows mummy powder from different pharmacies in Denmark. The Open-air Photo Phlemming Schmidt.



2- Still in the middle of the 18th centuriy, Mumia vera has been sold at well stocked pharmacies in Scandinavia. The Open-air museum "Skansen" in Stockholm, Sweden, Photo Hindrik Strandberg.

PL. II



3- Amedicin jar with the inscription Mumia vera is a curiosity principally found in the pharmacy museum "The Open-air museum "Den gamle by", Aarhus, Denmark. (Photo Flemming Schmidt).



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